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A
Compleat HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION.

From its first Rise, in 1745, to its total Suppression at
the glorious Battle of CULLODEN, in April, 1746.

By JAMES RAY, of Whitehaven.
Volunteer under his Royal Highness the D. of Cumberland.

Non, solum nobis, nati, partim pro Patria.

Wherein are contain'd,

THE Intrigues of the PRETENDER's Adherents before
the breaking out of the Rebellion, with all the me-
morable Transactions, and the Particulars of their seve-
ral Invasions, during that Period of Time: with a
particular and succinct Account of the several March-
es and Counter Marches of the REBELS, from
the Young PRETENDER's first Landing on the Island
of SKY, till his Retreat at Culloden.

ALSO, an Account of the Family and Extraction of
the REBEL CHIEFS, especially the CAMERONS.

LIKEWISE, the Natural History and Antiquities
of the several Towns thro' which the Author pass'd
with his MAJESTY's Army: together with the Man-
ners and Customs of the different People, particularly
the Highlanders.

WITH a Summary of the Trials and Executions of
the REBEL LORDS, &c.

Printed for the AUTHOR, in the Year 1754.



HISTORY

Is now published

By James Ray

JAMES RAY

TO EVERY
F R I E N D
TO

LIBERTY, TRUTH *and*
his COUNTRY;

But particularly to the
Candid R E A D E R,
THE FOLLOWING

H I S T O R Y
Is most humbly inscrib'd

By their most sincere Friend,

most devoted, and

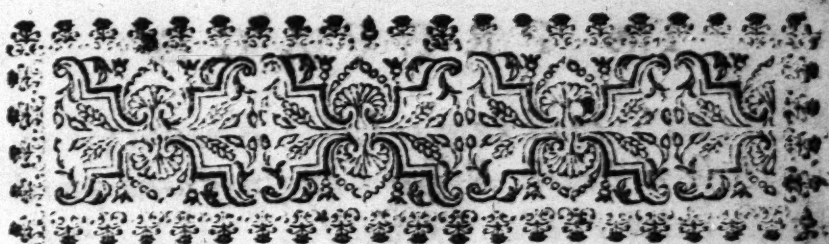
most obliged Servant,

JAMES RA

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THE PREFACE.

IN this History I propose to give my Readers a genuine Account of the late Rebellion, as it occur'd to me from ocular Demonstrations; for as I had the Honour to be a Volunteer under his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland; so I took all Opportunities of writing a Journal; which contains the most material Things that happen'd during that Period; and those Circumstances that did not fall directly under my Observation, I have taken Care to collect from the most authentic Accounts I could procure. It is through want of Care in this Particular, that in many ancient, and in some modern Histories, we are so much at a Loss about the Dates and Circumstances relating

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even to the most remarkable Events; and in these a strict Regard ought to be paid to so memorable, as well as melancholy Series of Transactions as this History contains, carried on by a Set of Men whose desperate Fortunes, and unreasonable Prejudices, made them fit Instruments for our common Enemy to work upon, delude, and at last engage to join them in distressing the Nation, endeavouring to depose the KING, and set on the Throne of these Realms an abjur'd Pretender; bred up and instructed in Popish Superstition. and Arbitrary Principles; to the utter Subversion of our Religion, our Laws, our Liberties and Properties; the very Name whereof, had they succeeded, had been extinct; — for France to design, and do its utmost to effect all this Mischief, had been no Wonder; — but, that any of our Fellow Subjects, and Protestants (who could not be ignorant or insensible of the cruel Spirit of Popery, and intolerable Force of Despotick Power; and had tasted the Sweets of Liberty) and shared all the Advantages of a mild and legal Government) should be such Traitors to their Country

Country as to assist the common Enemy in enslaving and bringing it under a foreign Jurisdiction, is Matter of Wonder; and what can scarce be parall'd in History.

THE Barbarians indeed that over-ran your Country, were like the ancient Goths, intrepid, bold, and daring, inur'd to Hardships and Fatigues from their Infancy; and what is still more, headed by Men of desperate Fortunes, to whom they paid an implicit Obedience; but, that they who were so small a Number, and some of them unarm'd, should penetrate so far into this Kingdom, it what future Ages, when they read of it, will hold in Derision: However, if it be consider'd, how at that Time, the Nation was destitute of its chief Defence our Troops, with their brave Commander, being then abroad; a Rebellion and Invasion having been long laugh'd out of Countenance by the Presumption of the Malecontents, nay, even many of his Majesty's best Friends, some of high Dignity, were fallen into a Lethargy of Disbelief as to that Monster Rebellion ever appearing among us; our
Nation

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Nation not only undisciplin'd as to Arms, but thro' a long Peace and great Plenty, undiscipin'd also as to the more noble Exercises of the Mind, Sobriety, Temperance, true Virtue and Public Spirit; torn in Pieces by Ambition and Faction among the Great, and in all Degrees of Life, by an Abuse of the most extensive Liberty, and best Government ever People were bless'd with: When we consider that many Jacobites had been lavish of Promises to the Scots Rebels, who repaid the deluded, unbinking English, that join'd them, by forcing them to stay at Carlisle, where the Consequence must be that Martyrdom which they boasted of when they found it unavoidable: Add to this, that the French, our inveterate Enemy, remarkable for Deceit, Perfidiousness and every Art of Political Villany even when meditating against us, solemnly denying it, and forming an Expectation of finishing their Conquest of Flanders when our brave Troops were drawn thence; when these Things are consider'd our Wonder in some Degree ceases. But if you would continue to deserve the Name of Britons, unite

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in the vigorous Defence of our Liberties and your Country. Be not amus'd with Party-Names, nor let any Distinction for the future subsist among us, but that of such as are, or are not Friends to our King, our Country, and the Protestant Religion, and Enemies to France and Slavery, Popery and Bigotry; for in Proportion as we are good Subjects and truly virtuous, we shall recover our former Honour, and yet become a Scourge to France.

To conclude, I have taken Care through the whole of my History, to relate Facts with the greatest Perspicuity and Exactness; and will only add, that when the Nation became rous'd from its Lethargy, never was there a greater Spirit of Love and Loyalty than appear'd amongst all Ranks of People (some Male-contentes excepted) which plainly shews that his Majesty King GEORGE reigns in the Hearts of all his faithful Subjects. I hope that great Example of theirs will spread its Influence, through the Dwellings of the Disaffected, and convince them

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them (and such as are of unsettled Opinions and Prejudices) that it would be a wise Part in them to discountenance all Popish Imposters, and defend to the last Drop of their Blood—that illustrious and heroick Family, by which kind Providence has made us a free and happy People.



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REBELLION.



AS soon as a War broke out upon the Continent, the *Irish* and *Scots* Partizans of the *Chevalier*, at the Court of *Madrid*, judged it a fit Opportunity to put their Scheme of Rebellion in Practice, and proposed an Invasion both in *Ireland* and *Scotland*, pretending they had very clear and good Proofs of a strong Spirit of Discontent, working in both Countries ; so that with a small foreign Force a Revolution might with Probability of Success be attempted. This was very well

well received at *Rome*, the eldest Son of the *Chevalier de St. George* having studied for some Years every thing he thought requisite, to furnish himself for an Expedition of this Nature: But perhaps it had not taken Effect so soon, if his future Secretary Mr *Murray* had not reported to him, that it was easy to raise the Clans; if he could be sure of any Assistance from *France*. At this very Time the *Spaniards* were employed in driving the *French* into a War declared against us; and Cardinal *Aquaviva*, being let into the Secrets of the *Chevalier's* Intelligence, undertook that his Catholick Majesty should make a Point of this likewise, and oblige *France* to take a Part in this Scheme, and grant Prince *Edward* such Succours as might appear requisite for carrying his intended Invasion into immediate Execution. But upon Application to the Court of *Versailles*, many Difficulties arose; for several of the *French* Ministers being persuaded they had already more upon their Hands than they could well manage, vehemently opposed adding
a new

a new and expensive Project, to those with which they were perplexed before. But there were three Persons in the Council of that Kingdom determined to support this Disposition from very different Motives, who, though they did not avow it publickly, were however determined to bring it about. Cardinal *Tencin* owed his Hat to the Chevalier, and was always his declared Partizan. *M. de Saxe* had an irreconcilable and hereditary Hatred to be gratified by this Measure. And *M. de Belleisle* judged it agreeable to his general System; the Basis of which was, that the more his Majesty's Affairs were embroil'd, the more necessary his Services would be; and the more, consequently, himself and his Family consider'd. -- But though these great Men concurred in the Design, they would none of them venture proposing to invite the Chevalier or either of his Sons into *France*, but resolv'd to procure that Step to be taken, without Formality, by the Interposition of Cardinal *Aquaviva*, that they might afterwards be able to disavow it.

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Accordingly this Method was taken, and Cardinal *Aquaviva* solicited the Chevalier to consent to his eldest Son's setting out, even before a formal Invitation came from *Paris*;--for he was satisfied, that notwithstanding any Appearances, the great Men at Court might wear, they would be very glad to see and assist the young Man, who, on his Side, was so desirous of shewing himself, and so confident of Success, that he never left teasing his Father, (whose Experience made him less sanguine,) 'till he obtain'd his Consent; but this was not till he had certain Advice from *France* that they were meditating an Invasion on *England*, which was in the Winter of 1743. and then he enter'd on the necessary Preparations. It was the Month of *February* 1744, before every Thing was ready, and the necessary Remittances fixed, in case he should think proper to act upon his own Plan of going into *Scotland*, instead of landing with the *French* Troops, who were on the Point of embarking when he left *Rome*. The Manner of his Departure, which was entirely

entirely in the *Italian* Strain, and his Journey to *Genoa*, where he took up some Bills of Exchange, which were duly paid, made a fine *Italian* Piece—— which was presented to all the Friends of the Family at *Rome*.

On his Arrival at *Paris* he was very coldly received, more especially by the Ministry; and the King seemed a little surprized at the Abruptness of his Appearance.—— But notwithstanding this, some of the Ministers and the Relations of his Family, welcomed him in another Manner, and perswaded him to go and parade at *Dunkirk*, where they were still carrying on the Farce of an Invasion; in which he was brought to act his Part, but not without Reluctancy. This threw him in some Measure out with the *French* Court, who left him to mind his own Scheme and Projects, without any apparent Countenance, all the next Spring.

By this kind of Management, he split his own little Party into Factions, who

were as warm in their Debates, as furious in their Contests, and as much sour'd in their Opinions, by these different Sentiments about the Measures he was to take, as if that all their Projects had not been alike empty and chimerical.— Those who follow'd him from *Rome* were absolutely moulded by his Inclinations; they were perfect Courtiers, had nothing to lose but their Lives; and by having experienced a long Scene of Misfortunes, were grown in some Measure careless about them. They magnified the Project, extolled the Courage, and hoped mighty Things from the Fortune of their Chief; his very Person was an Army, and his Presence sufficient to make a whole Nation revolt. The old Cavaliers, who had remained long in Exile in *France*, and were heartily weary of the Usage they had met with there, ran very easily into the same Way of thinking, and were eager for entering upon Action. But the wisest Heads, and greatest Men among them, were in Sentiments directly opposite; they said, he ought well to consider his first Expedition;

pedition ; for if he fail'd in *that*, it would never be in his Power to make *another* ; that risking his Person was nothing in Comparison of risking his Friends ; and that every Measure he took towards raising an unsuccessful Rebellion, was a Step in favour of his Enemies. The latter Party were so much in Earnest, that they applied to the *French* Court, to desire they would interpose ; and received a Promise to that Effect. The *French* Ministers began now to be well pleased to see Things take this Turn, hoping he would make a desperate Attempt himself, at much less Expence then if abetted by them ; perswaded, that whether successful or not, he would do their Business, and create such a Disturbance in *Britain* as might affect its publick Credit.

In Publick therefore, and even under their Hands, they opposed and discountenanced his Scheme for an Invasion, but privately applauded it, and expressed a vast Confidence in the heroick Disposition of the young Pretender, and

made no Scruple of saying, That by venturing upon such an Exploit, he would surprize his Friends, amaze and confound his Enemies, and put the King and his Ministers under a Necessity of owning, assisting, and supporting him for ever. Thus they managed, cheated, and betrayed both Parties.

The Arrival of the Pretender's Son in *France*, could not but give great Reason to suspect that something was meditating there in his Favour; nor was it long before there appear'd evident Signs of an intended Invasion, though, as I have shewn, this perfidious Court pretended to have no Knowledge of the young Chevalier's Journey; and it was even suggested by the *French* Party in *Holland*, that M. de Amelot was remov'd, and disgrac'd, for having given the young Adventurer those Hopes which drew him into *France*.

However, in the Summer of the Year 1745, it was known that some Preparations were privately making for an Expedition

pedition in Favour of the Pretender; and for that Purpose, an Officer in the *French* Navy raised a Company of one Hundred Men, under Pretence that they were for the *East-India* Company's Service, which were stiled *Grassins de Mer*, and were handsomely cloathed in Blue faced with Red; (who we have since had the Pleasure of seeing Prisoners of War at *Carliste*) They were put on board a Frigate carrying eighteen Guns; and every Thing being now ready, the young Deputy Pretender came privately from the House of the *Duke de Fitz-James*, to Port *Lazare* in *Britanny*, where on the 14th of *July* he embarked with about Fifty *Scotch* and *Irish*, in order to have sailed round *Ireland*, and to land in the North-West of *Scotland*. This Frigate of his was joined of *Belle-Isle* by the *Elizabeth*, a Man of War of sixty Guns, taken from us by the *French* in the last War, and now extremely well mann'd for this Service. In their Passage they fell in with a Fleet of *English* Merchantmen, under the Convoy of three Men of War, one of which, viz. the *Lion*,
Capt.

Capt. *Brett*, engaged the *Elizabeth* for nine Hours; but soon after the Engagement began, the Frigate bore away, and continued her intended Voyage. The *Elizabeth* when Night came on, made all the Sail she could to get clear, and returned to *Brest* quite disabled, having her Captain and sixty-four Men killed, and one hundred and thirty wounded. She had on board a large Sum of Money, and Arms for several thousand Men, which were to have been landed with the Pretender, for the Use of his Adherents. As for the Frigate, beforementioned, she stood in for the Coast of *Lochabar*, and anchored betwixt the Islands of *Skie* and *Mull*. * and there landed

* *MULL* lies in *Argyleshire*. The Air is temperately cold and moist, being qualified with Breezes from the Mountains, of which there is a great Ridge in the Middle, one so high that it is seen from all the Western Islands, and from a great Part of the Continent: There is good Pasturage; their Horses and Black Cattle are small but sprightly, and the latter very good Meat. Here is Store of Sheep, Goats, Deer, Wild Fowl, Sea-Fowl, and fine Hawks, with Barley and Oats, a great

landed the young Pretender and his Attendants. He went first to the House of Mr. *Mac Donald* of *Kinloch Moidart*, that is, the Head of the Lake *Moidart*, where he remained in private for some Time, until he was join'd by the *Cimerons*,

great Variety of Plants, some Woods, and Plenty of Turf and Peat. Here are several Bays and Places for Anchorage, of which that of *Duart*, on the East Side, is the most frequented. The Coast, especially *Lochleffen-Bay*, abound with Herring, Cod, Ling, Cockles, Muscles; and here are also Seals, Otters, and Vipers; and several Rivers that abound with Salmon and Pearl Muscles; and Fresh-Water Lakes that abound with Trout and Eels. 'Tis well Water'd, and has three Castles, the Chief of which is *Castle-Dilard*, on a Promontory near the South-East Corner of the Island. Here are likewise several old Forts, supposed to have been built by the *Danes*. The Inhabitants, who, except a few, are Protestants, have two Parish Churches and a little Chapel. There are several Islands in the Bay, some of which have Forts. The late Duke of *Argyle* became its Proprietor upon the Forfeiture of the Family of *Maclean*. 'Tis divided by a Channel not half a League broad from *Lochabar Swonard*, and *Moidart*; and upon the North-East is scarce four Miles from the *Morvein* Part of the Continent. It has one good Road called *Polcars*.

merons Mac Donalds, Stuarts, and some other Clans, in Number about 150; then he set up his Standard on the 16th of August, and chose for his Motto, Tandem Triumphans, i. e. At length Triumphant.

As the *Camerons* were the most distinguished Clan in the Rebel Army, and of which the celebrated Miss *Jenny* is a Branch, I thought it might not be improper to give the following Account of them. The present *Lochiel*, Chief of that Name, pretends to be lineally descended from *Hugh* the first of that Family, which is of about 700 Years standing. There has been a constant Succession of Great Men down from the said Sir *Hugh*, to the present *Lochiel*, famous in the late Rebellion. The Revenue of the Estate is about 500 *l.* per Annum, exclusive of the Wood that is now on it. Some of the Merchants of *Whitehaven* have of late had large Dealings with young *Lochiel* for Timber.

The present Sir *Hugh Cameron* having resided long in *France* and *Rome*, is strongly

strongly attached to the House of *Stuart*. He came over with the Pretender in 1715, and went back again with him to *France*. When the late Rebellion broke out in 1745, he embark'd with the Chevalier in his Expedition against *Scotland*; where, though he was eighty Years of Age, he behaved with surprising Activity. As for young *Lochiel* he was never Abroad with his Father but lived quietly at Home upon his Estate; and it is supposed he knew nothing of the intended Invasion till after the young Pretender landed in *Scotland*; when he receiv'd a Summons to raise the Clan, come at their Head, and join the Standard. But young *Lochiel* not liking to meddle in so dangerous an Affair, delay'd it for the Space of six Weeks, though the young Pretender, and his Father were all that Time at the House of *Mac Donald* of *Kinloch Moirdart*. At last the young Deputy Pretender came to *Acnacary*, with about fifty Persons in his Retinue, together with old Sir *Flugh Cameron*; on their Arrival the old Gentleman immediately shewed

shewed himself to his Clan, who were overjoy'd to see their old Chief amongst them again; and the Son had nothing left him but to obey his Father's Command like his other Vassals.

The Clan of the *Camerons* are about eight hundred fighting Men; there are but a few Gentlemen of the Name now settled in *Scotland*, though there is a considerable Number of them in the Service of *France* and *Spain*. The chief Branch of this Family was Mr *Cameron* of *Glandessery*, Father of the celebrated Miss *Jenny*. The Estate of *Glandessery* does not exceed 150 *l.* per Annum, yet he can raise very near as many Men as his Chief.

The Pretender being now join'd by the whole Clan of the *Camerons* of *Lochiel*, the *Mac Donalds* of *Glengary*, the *Stuarts* of *Appin*, and some other of the Clans, his Army amounted to about two Thousand Men, when, on the 20th of *August*, he appear'd with his Forces near *Fort William*, and about this Time dispers'd

dispers'd many of his Father's Manifesto's, one of which was dated in 1743, that plainly shew'd a Diversion was then intended; another in 1745, declaring his Son Regent; and a Third, containing large Promises to the People of *Scotland*. Soon after this, two Companies of *St. Clair's* Regiment fell in with the Rebels, whom they were sent to reconnoitre, and where most of them taken Prisoners; as was Capt. *Sweetenham*, of *Guise's* Regiment, soon after, but he was releas'd upon his Parole: However, he immediately posted up to *London*, where he gave the first and most distinct Account of the Force, Situation and Design of the Rebels, who now began to think themselves strong enough to march Southward; which they immediately prepar'd to do.

Lieutenant-General Sir *John Cope*, Kt. of the *Bath*, was at that Time Commander in Chief of the King's Forces in *Scotland*, and had the Direction of Military Affairs there; in Pursuance of which, he drew together the Troops

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then in that Kingdom, arm'd the Militia, and took what other Precautions he thought necessary, and then judg'd it proper to march Northward, in order to find out the Rebels, expecting to meet with them at the Chain; which is the Name given to the great Road leading a-cross from *Fort-William* to *Inverness*, where the General arriv'd with his Forces, after a fatiguing March, but found himself disappointed; for the Rebels, instead of marching through the Pass at *Kerryerrock*, they took the Way over the Mountains, and the first News he heard of them was, that they had taken Possession of *Perth*, on the 4th of *September*, and on the 5th proclaim'd the Pretender.

It was now publicly known that several Persons of Distinction had join'd the Pretender, particularly the Person call'd the Duke of *Perth*, (Chief of the Family of the *Drummonds*, and Son of the Earl of *Perth*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, who follow'd the Fortune of the late King *James*, and was by him created

created a Duke in *France*,) the Marquis of *Tullibardin*, then styling himself the Duke of *Albol*, eldest Son of the late Duke, (but attainted for the Share he had in the late Rebellion,) Lord *George Murray*, his Brother, and several others.

On the 11th they began their March for the Firth of *Forth*, which they cross'd on the 13th, at the Ford of *Frew*, in Number about three Thousand; they took their Rout for *Glasgow*, which they summon'd; but received no Answer. The Substance of their Summons is as follows:

I Need not inform you of my View in coming, that is already sufficiently known:—All those who love their Country, and the true Interest of Britain, ought to wish for my Success, and do what they can to promote it. It would be a needless Repetition to tell you, that all the Privileges of your Town are included in my Declaration, and what I have promis'd, I never will depart from. I hope this is your Way of Thinking; and therefore

for expect your Compliance with my Demands, a Sum of Money not exceeding 15,000 l. Sterling, (besides what is due to the Government, and whatever Arms can be found in the City, is all at present I require. The Terms propos'd are very reasonable, and what I promise to make good. I choose to make those Demands; but, if not complied with shall take other Measures, and you shall be answerable for the Consequence.

Sign'd, CHARLES, P. R.

LEERY, Sept, 15, 1745.

On the 14th they directed their March Eastward, towards *Edinburgh*, which they entered on the 17th, being not only invited, but solicited thereto by the *Jacobites* in and about that City, who well knew that the well-affected Inhabitants would have baffled any Attempt upon it, if they had got the Fencing of the City finished, and the Thousand Men levied and trained, who were to be raised by the voluntary Subscription. Besides these,

these, five Hundred of the chief Inhabitants of the City, Lawyers, Writers, Physicians, and even Divines, took up Arms for the Defence of the Town. About twenty-three Patteranoes, and Ship-Guns, were placed at the Gates, and on the Bastions of the City-Walls. These Volunteers, &c. continued under Arms all Sunday Night, and likewise on Monday, till Five o'Clock in the Afternoon; at which Time *Gardiner's* and *Hambleton's* Dragoons retired from *Colt-Bridge*, towards *Musselburgh*, on the Approach of the Van-guard of the Rebels, who put the Inhabitants of the City into some small Confusion, imagining that the whole Body of the Rebels were approaching. However, the Volunteers &c. continued under Arms, waiting for Orders to take their respective Stations, which they were resolved to defend to the last.

At this Time, several Persons presented a Petition to the Provost, desiring that a Meeting of the Inhabitants might be call'd, to consider whether they should

stand out, or deliver up the City. The Fire-Bell was accordingly rung; which the Persons under Arms took as a Signal for bringing them to the Place of Rendezvous, and immediately drew up, headed by their Officers; and the Meeting intended for the Inhabitants, in the new Kirk-Isle, was filled immediately with Persons who had been strolling in the Streets, many of them disaffected to the Government.

In this Meeting, a Letter from the Chevalier was presented, intimating his Intention to enter the City; but the Reader thereof was soon interrupted, and the Question put, Whether the Town was or was not tenable? Some affirming that the Dragoons had left them; and others, that it was false, and that they were ready to defend the City to the last if required. — In the mean Time the Secretary at War acquainted them, That he had an Order from the General to request, that the two Regiments of Dragoons might enter the City, if the Inhabitants desired it. — This occasioned some

some warm Debates; when a Gentleman, who had been present at a Council of War some Days before, asserted, that the general Opinion of the Officers was, that the City was not tenable, and that bringing the Dragoons into it, would be cooping them up to their Destruction. Immediately the Vote was put, Whether to receive the Dragoons, or not? When it passed in the Negative; and so they went and joined General Cope.

No Orders being given what Part the Volunteers should act, they delivered their Arms into the Castle; the Governor of which sent for the Cannon, on the Walls and Gates, to be brought into the Castle, or nailed up; but for Want of Orders from some Person in Town, they could not be carried away, and so fell into the Rebels Hands.

At this Time, Sir John Cope was at Inverness, from whence he dispatched Orders Southward, for Transports to be sent to Aberdeen, where he embark'd his Men,

Men, and on the 16th of *September* entered the Harbour of *Dunbar*, at which Place he landed his Men the next Day, as he did also on the 18th his Artillery. Here he received Advice of the City of *Edinburgh* being in the Hands of the Rebels which it was expected the *Provost* had treacherously delivered up to them the 16th in the Evening; for about Five the next Morning, the *Netherbow-Port* being open'd to let in a Coach, the Rebels entered at the same Time, without the least Resistance; so that some of the Well-affected became a Prey to their Enemies. General *Guest* had retired into the Castle with a small Number of regular Troops; the Bank, and most of the Publick Offices, being removed into that Fortrefs before.

Brigadier *Fowke*, with *Hamilton's* and *Gardiner's* Dragoons, having joined Sir *John Cope's* Army, they on the 19th marched from *Dunbar*, and encamped that Night on the West Side of *Haddington*. The next Morning early, they continued their March, and in the Evening

ing reached *Preston-Pans*. The Rebels having got a good Supply of Arms, and what else they wanted at *Edinburgh*, and their Army being now augmented to five Thousand Men, they marched out of the City to engage the Kings Troops. General *Cope* had no sooner pitched on a Piece of Ground, and got his little Army form'd, than the Rebels appear'd on the high Ground to the South of him. He thereupon formed a full Front to theirs, when the Armies exchanged several Huzza's, and probably from their not liking our Disposition, they began to alter their own, and made a large Detachment of their Left towards *Preston*, as may be supposed, in order to take us in Flank, their Number being superior to ours. The General, with several of his Officers, having upon this reconnoitered their Design, immediately ordered the Front to be changed, forming our Right to the Sea, and our Left where the Front had been: This Disposition disappointed their Project of taking us in Flank; and that Part of their Army immediately counter-marched —

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From this Change of theirs, we were again obliged to take new Ground. The Night coming on, and the enemy so near, we lay on our Arms, and in the Night, with a Train of six Pieces of small Cannon, threw some Shot amongst an advanced Party of theirs, who had taken Possession of the Church-Yard of *Tranent*, that lay between their Front and ours.

The Forces under Sir *John Cope* were, Major-General *Habington's* and Colonel *Gardiner's* Dragoons; Lieutenant-General *Guise's*, Colonel *Lee's*, Colonel *Murray's*, Colonel *Lascelle's*, and the Earl of *London's* Regiments of Foot; but of these, there was only one compleat: A great Number of Volunteers from *Edinburgh*, and other Places, offered to join them; but Sir *John Cope* refused their Assistance, for fear of confusing his Men. About Three in the Morning, it being very dark, our Patroles could scarce perceive any Motion they made, every Thing seemed so quiet: But about this Hour, the Patroles reported them to

be in full March, in great Silence, towards the East; at Four they reported, that they were continuing their March North-East. From this it appeared they designed to attack our Left-Flank with their main Body; and upon the General's being informed that this was their Intention, he ordered the Disposition to be changed, by which he brought our Front to theirs, and secured our Flanks by several Dykes on our Right, towards *Tranent* with our Left Flank inclining to the Sea. The Moment this Disposition was compleated, three large Bodies in Columns, of their pick'd-out Highlanders, came on with great Swiftaers, and the Column which was advancing towards our Right, where our Train was posted, after receiving our Discharges, almost in an Instant, and before Day appear'd, seiz'd the Train, and threw into the utmost Confusion a Body of about one Hundred Foot which the General had posted there to guard it. All Endcavours, in every Shape, were tried by him, Brigadier *Forster*, the Earls *Lundon* and *Hume*, and the Officers about them,

them, to remedy this Disorder, but in vain. This unhappily, with the Fire made (though a very irregular one) by the Highland Column on our Right, where *Gardiner's* Dragoons were placed, put that Regiment in great Disorder, their Horses taking Fright at the first Fire; however their Officers rallied them again. and as they were returning alongside of Lord *Grange's* Park-Dyke, in order to charge again, an Ambuscade of the Rebels gave them a second Fire, which made them reel, and ride quite off: *Stamblerton's* Dragoons follow'd their Example, and went off likewise. The Foot not being supported by the Horse, were surprized, and thrown into Confusion in their Turn; they firing too soon, and their Bayonets not fixed, the Rebels fell furiously upon them, Sword in Hand, and being surrounded, about two Hundred of them were kiled, and about one Thousand made Prisoners. — Lord *Loudon's* Regiment being placed with General *Cope's* Baggage, as a Body of Reserve, were fallen upon next; they behaved well, gave the Rebels a smart Fire,

Fire, which killed many of them; but being over powered by Numbers, they were obliged to surrender Prisoners; and the Field Pieces and Baggage were all taken. The Earls of *Loudon* and *Hume*, after rallying the Dragoons, went off with them to *Lauder*, and from thence the next Day to *Berwick*. Brigadier *Forcke*, and Colonel *Lascelles* came back to *Dunbar*, and Sir *John Cope* went to *Berwick*. — This is by some called the Battle of *Preston-Pans*, from the Place near it, which takes its Name from the Number of *Salt-Pans* there; but it is more properly stil'd the Battle of *Glaids-muir*, since that was the Field of Battle, being a wide barren Heath, about seven Miles East of *Edinburgh*.

Before I conclude this unfortunate Affair, I will only observe, that notwithstanding our Soldiers were struck with such a Pannick as occasioned them to act beneath the Dignity of the Cause in which they were engaged; yet it is universally allowed, that all their Offi-

cers did their Duty, and well supported the Honour of that Character due to true *Britons*; in particular, it will be doing Justice to the Merit of the brave Colonel *Gardiner*, to say, that he did all that could be expected from the most gallant and experienc'd Officer to rally his Dragoons; but finding his utmost Efforts in vain; and seeing an Officer (who commanded the Foot) fall, the Colonel instantly dismounted, snatch'd up a half Pike, and took upon him the Command of the Foot, at whose Head he fought till he was brought down by three Wounds, one in his Shoulder by a Ball, another in his Forehead by a Broad Sword, and the third, which was his mortal Stroke, in the hinder Part of his Head, by a *Lochabar* Ax; this Wound was given him by a Highlander, who came behind him, while he was reaching a Stroke at an Officer with whom he was engaged: He is regretted not only by his Friends, and those of the present Government, but even amongst those against whom he fought, who agree with all others in acknowledging, that he finished

a worthy and exemplary Life, with a most honourable and heroick Death; for he very easily might have escaped with the rest, if like them, he would have deserted his Duty. He was decently interred on *Thursday, Sept. 24*, in the Parish Church of *Tranent*, where eight of his Children lie: This fatal Action happened almost by the Walls of his own Seat at *Bankton*; his Lady and eldest Daughter, at that Time, had been left by him at *Sterling Castle*.

I know it will be expected, that I should inform you, what were the Number on both Sides in the Action. — Of the King's Troops, there were about two Thousand eight Hundred who should have fought; and the Rebels were no less than five Thousand Men; and it was so dark when they attacked us, that they could not be perceived but like a black Hedge moving forward, and the Artillery, consisting of six Pieces of Cannon, being planted all on the Right, and at some Distance from the Army, guarded only by a Hundred Men, the Rebels

were immediately possessed of them, who turn'd them on our Dragoons, at the same Time giving a most hedious and frightful Shout. The Dragoons seeing the Cannon in the Possession of the Enemy, and that it was to be pointed at them, thought proper to provide for themselves by a sudden Retreat; as knowing that,

*He that fights, and runs away,
May turn and fight another Day;
But he that is in Battle slain,
Will never rise to fight again.*

Soon as the Affair was ended, the Rebels incircled their Dead, and buried them with all Expedition to conceal their Number. The following is an exact List of the Loss sustained on our Part, in this unhappy Action.



A LIST of the OFFICERS killed,
wounded, and taken Prisoners, at the
Battle of GLAIDSMUIR, Sept.
21, 1745.

DRAGOONS.

Colonel GARDINER's

Colonel Gardiner, killed.

Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney, wounded
and Prisoner.

Lieutenant Grafton, Prisoner.

Cornets Burroughs and Alcock, Ditto.

Quarter-Master West, Ditto.

HAMILTON's.

Lieutenant-Colonel Wright, wounded
and Prisoner.

Major Bowles, Ditto.

Cornets Jacob and Nash, Prisoners.

Quarter-Master Nash, and Dr. Trotte,
Ditto.

D 3,

FOOT

FOOT.

Colonel *L A S C E L L E's.*

Captain *Stuart*, killed.
 Ensign *Bell*, much wounded and Prisoner.
 Major *Severn*, Prisoner.
 Captains. *Drummond, Adams, Forrester, Anderson, Corbet, and Collier*, Do.
 Lieutenants. *Swine, Johnston, Carrick, Dundas, and Herring*, Ditto.
 Ensigns. *Stone, Cox, Gordon, Goulton,*
 and Dr. *Drummond*, Ditto.

Colonel *M U R R A Y's.*

Captain *Lesse*, wounded and Prisoner.
 Ensign *Halden*, Ditto.
 Lieutenant-Colonel *Clayton*, Prisoner.
 Major *Talbot*, Ditto.
 Captains *Reid, Cockran, Scot, and Blake*, Ditto.
 Lieutenants. *Hay, Cranston, Dinsey, Wale, Wry and Simms*, Ditto.
 Ensigns. *Sutherland, Lucey, Holdane, Birn, L'Estrange.* and Adjutant *Spencer*, Ditto.

Colonel

Colonel *L E E's*

Captains. *Bromer* and *Rogers*, killed.

Colonel *Peter Halket*, Prisoner.

Captains *Basil Cockran*, *Chapman* and *Tatton*, Ditto.

Lieutenants *Sandilands*, *Drummond*, *Kennedy* and *Hewitson*, Ditto.

Ensigns. *Hardwick*, *Archer* and *Dubmer*, Ditto.

Mr *Wilson* and *Dr. Young*, Ditto.

Lord *L O U D O N's*.

Captains. *Stuart* and *Howel*, killed.

Captains. *Mackay* and *Monro*, Prisoners.

Lieutenants. *Macnab*, and *Reid*, Ditto.

Ensigns. *Grant*, *Ross* and *MacLagan*, Ditto.

Colonel *Whiteford*, Volunteer, Prisoner.

Major *Griffith*, Master-Gunner of *Einburgh Castle*, Ditto.

The Pretender lay at *Pinkie-House* the Night after the Battle, and the next Day

Day return'd to *Holy-rood-House*. That Day they carried their Mock Prince from that Palace to the High-Cross, where they proclaim'd his Father a second Time *King*, and him *Regent*, with great Formality; although few or none of the Inhabitants of any Credit attended the Ceremony.

The King's *Heralds* being compell'd to it, perform'd this Office; after which they were oblig'd to read a Manifesto, which promis'd much more than the *Scots* believ'd would be made good.— The same Day was issu'd a Proclamation, commanding all within the City, and twelve Miles round, who had any Arms, to bring them in, and deliver them at *Holy-rood-House*; and all who had any Horses of his Majesty's Dragoons, to send them to the Camp at *Didiston*, under Pain of Military Execution. The next Day another Proclamation was read at the publick Cross, by which all who had taken Arms Clergy or others, were declar'd *Rebels*, if, in so many Days, they did not make their Submission; which

which occasion'd all the Clergy to desert the City, and was the true Reason of divine Service being suspended, during the Time it was possess'd by the Rebels ; notwithstanding Mr *Neal M'Vicar* continu'd to perform divine Service as usual : On which the Pretender sent a Messenger, requiring that he should pray for *him*, and forbid him to mention King GEORGE in his Prayers ; yet Mr *M'Vicar* pray'd for the Royal Family as usual ; but in mentioning his Majesty, he said, *Bless the KING : Thou know'st what KING I mean ; may the Crown sit long easy on his Head, &c. And for this Man that is come amongst Us to seek an Earthly Crown, we beseech Thee, in Mercy, to take him to Thyself, and give him a Crown of Glory.* At this Time the Rebels had taken Possession of the Custom-house of *Leith*, in which were Seizures to a great Amount ; which they sold to the Smugglers, from whom they had been taken, and to none else, for one third Part of the real Value.

The

The Pretender demanded of the City of *Edinburgh* 6000 Pair of Shoes, 2000 Targets, and 1000 Tents, to be made with all Expedition ; to be paid when the Troubles were over, —

He then publish'd several Declarations to recall all Gentlemen and Tradesmen, who had left the Town, to their Houses and Occupations therein ; to order all Farmers and Husbandmen to repair to the Markets as usual ; to command all Countrymen within the Neighbourhood of *Edinburgh*, to be ready at twelve Hours Warning, with Carriages in Proportion to their Ploughs, for the Conveyance of Equipage, &c.

The next Act of his Mock Government was, to order all the Receivers of publick Offices, Stewards of Counties, Boroughs, &c. to make up their Accounts immediately, and to pay him the Ballance that remain'd in their Hands.

He

He levied a Contribution of 2000*l.* on the Earl of *Hopton*, besides his usual Land-Tax ; seiz'd on the *York-Buildings* Estate, formerly the Earl of *Wintoun's*, and made the Tenants pay Half-a-Crown in the Pound of their Rent.

A Proclamation was issu'd for the Citizens to withdraw the Cash, or Money-Banks from the Castle, and carry on their Business as usual ; but they being disregarded, another immediately followed ; forbidding the furnishing the Castle with Provisions on Pain of Death : In Answer to which, General *Guest* gave the Citizens to understand, that he would lay the Town in Ashes, to clear a Passage for the receiving Supplies, and advis'd them to provide for their personal Safety by the next Morning.

The Rebels having plac'd Guards at all the Avenues leading to the Castle, began to fire upon it, but were soon silenc'd by the Garrison. General *Guest's* Threats occasion'd the Chiefs of the City to apply to the Pretender, to take a proper

per Method to prevent their threaten'd Ruin : He thereupon wrote to the Governor of the Castle, and a Truce was concluded for six Days ; during which Time the Castle was suffer'd to receive Provisions from the City and Country ; which Space being elaps'd, the Fire began on both Sides with great Fury : During this Interval, the Rebels not liking to lie idle, divided themselves into small Parties, and went several Ways into the Country, pillering and stealing all they could lay Hands on. A large Party of them got to Lord *Somerville's* House, and had begun to plunder it, but the Alarm Bell being rung, a great Number of Colliers came out of the Coal Pits, attack'd the Rebels, kill'd some of them, and took others Prisoners, whom they carried with them into the Pits : Another Party went to the Earl of *Stair's*, where they pillag'd the House and carried off all the Cattle. Six of them one Night broke into a House (the Gentleman's Name I forgot) near *Keratoulach*, six Miles from *Edinburgh*, a very mortified Gentleman, remarkable for his great
Charity,

Charity, Piety and abstemious Life. who lay every Night in his Coffin and Winding Sheet : The *Highlanders* having secur'd what Arms were in the House, let a Guard on the Servants, and pack'd up all the Plate and Linnen they thought they could carry off The Chamber where Mr — lay, was without Furniture, and the last they visited as they were going off, having lock'd the Servants in a Room ; seeing the Coffin, they concluded a Corpse was inclos'd in it, and that it might have a good Winding-Sheet, thought it would be a Pity to leave it behind them ; they therefore, with a Design of taking what the dead Man would never miss, remov'd the Lid off the Coffin ; on which Mr — raising himself up, they were struck with such a Panick at his ghostly Appearance, and imagining that the Devil had taken Possession of the Corpse, and that he would have them next, they all took to their Heels, and Mr — running after them to the Door, at their rushing out fasten'd it upon them, though the Precaution was needless ; for they fearing

the Devil would take the Hindermost, never look'd back, or slacken'd their Pace until out of the Sight of the House; their Terror was so great that they left all their Plunder behind, and Mr — lost no individual Thing.

The main Body of the Rebels, after the Battle, stay'd about *Diddist* and *Mus-selburgh* two Days, and on the 24th return'd to *Edinburgh*: On the 28th and 29th, they sent the Prisoners to *Perth*, *Drummond Castle*, &c.

Sometime after this, a hundred and ten Highlanders of Lord *Loudon's* Regiment, who were made Prisoners at the Battle of *Gladsmuir*, on their Petition, were set at Liberty by the Rebels, on swearing not to carry Arms against the *Chevalier*. About this Time two Hundred more of our Soldiers, who had been taken Prisoners at the same Place, made their Escape, and join'd those under the Command of General *Blakney*, at *Stirling Castle*.

On

On the 30th they sent out Parties to *Haddington* and *Dunbar*, and began again to take their Measures for cutting off the Communication between the Castle of *Edinburgh* and the City; which considering they had no heavy Artillery, was a wild Attempt. On the 1st of *October* they open'd their Trenches on the Castle Hill, a little below the Reservoir; upon which they began to fire upon them from the Castle, kill'd three Men and wounded a commanding Officer, so that by Four in the Afternoon they abandon'd their Works; on which two hundred Men from the Garrison sallied out and took Possession of them, and with their Fire clear'd the *High-street*, which is said to contain more People than any Street in *London*; yet there was not a Person then to be seen in it: The Weigh-House in which the Rebels kept their Guard, was set on Fire by the Artillery from the Castle so that the Citizens apprehending the entire Demolition of their Metropolis, left the City, and flying for Safety to *Leith*, met in their Way the Inhabitants of that

Town flying for Shelter to *Edinburgh*; for the Rebels being in Possession of *Leith*, and prohibiting Provisions being carried to the *Box* Man of War lying in the Road, she fir'd furiously upon that Town, so that the distress'd Citizens and Townsmen knew not where to find Refuge.

The Rebels had erected a Battery against the North-West Side of the Castle near Mr *M'Vicar's* Church (who made the remarkable Prayer already taken Notice of) and fir'd from thence but were soon silenc'd by the Fire from the Castle, which beat down a House, where Captain *Taylor*, a Shoemaker liv'd, (who had promis'd to present the *Pretender* with the Keys of the Castle) and several other Rebels; many of whom were kill'd, and those who escap'd, (among whom was the said *Taylor*) were taken by a Party of the Garrison, who flung themselves down with Ropes, and with the same hoisted up their Prisoners: Thus the Captain took Possession of this Fortress, though he could not find the Keys
to

to make good his Promise. The Rebels plotted several Ways to surprize the Castle, and had once almost got it by Treachery; for one of the Centinels had undertaken to betray it, but was luckily seiz'd with his Ropes, Letter of Instruction, &c about him; and afterwards none but Men of Character were posted within the Draw-bridge.

The City of *Glasgow* was summon'd a second Time, and 15,000 *l.* demanded by way of Contribution, but were constrain'd to compound for 5000 Guineas, which was directly paid.

Hostilities continu'd betwixt the Garrison of the Castle of *Edinburgh* and the Rebels till the 5th in the Evening, when several Houses being beat down by the Artillery, and the Rebels having lost twenty Men, in an Attempt to drive Part of the Garrison from the Castle-hill, the Communication betwixt the Town and the Castle was restor'd, and Hostilities ceas'd. On the 7th the Rebels demanded Half-a-Crown in the Pound from the

Landlords of Houses in *Edinburgh*, and began to have some Thoughts of quitting the Place, finding the Fortress impregnable, both against their Forces and *French* Bribery, which has been elsewhere so persuasive, that some, thought to be the most steady Patriots of their Country, have sold their Faith and Honour for *Louis d'Ors*.

The Rebels one Night broke into the House of Mr *Thomas Areskine*, an eminent Brewer, and a Preacher among the People call'd Quakers, and one of my Acquaintance. He has since shew'd me the Drawers which they broke, and robb'd him of all the Money he had then in the House, with some Linnen and other Things of Value: Upon which great Injustice, the fair dealing Quaker makes his Application to their Prince, assuring him, *That Method he pursu'd would never prosper, or answer his Expectation; for, said he, our GEORGE takes only a Part of our Money, but Thou even verily, takes all; and Thou may'st as well take my Life, as take away*
the

the Prop that supports it. Upon which Complaint the Highland Prince answered, That he (Mr Areskine) was many Years in Debt to the Revenue of his Father's Excise, and it was but the proper Dues to his Government.

On the 14th the Rebels receiv'd considerable Reinforcements, headed by old *Gordon of Glenbucket, Forbes, ———, Lord Pitligo, Lord Kilmarnock*, and others; they likewise receiv'd from Abroad, Supplies of Ammunition, Small Arms, Field Pieces, Military Stores, &c. There was one *Mr Boyer* came over at the same Time, whom they were pleas'd to dignify with the Title of Ambassador. About the 20th a great Part of their Army march'd to *Dalkeith*, to which Place they remov'd their Field Pieces and Ammunition, and having erected a Battery at *Alloway*, to secure the Passage of the *Firth*, they transported from *Montross, Stonehive*, and other Places, the Supplies they had receiv'd from Abroad.

About

About the latter End of *October*, the Mock Prince came to the Camp at *Dalkeith*, where he caus'd the Palace belonging to the Duke of *Buccleugh*, said to be one of the most magnificent Seats in *Scotland*, to be fitted up for his Reception, and there fix'd his Head Quarters, which lay convenient for sending Spies to see what was doing in the North of *England*; where he had but cool Encouragement some refusing to read his Letters, and several of his Emiffaries were seiz'd at *Newcastle*, *Berwick*, &c But notwithstanding this, Measures were taken for marching Southward, and happy was it for us that they stay'd so long with their Friends at *Edinburgh*; for had the Rebels, flush'd with Victory follow'd their Blow, whilst the Hearts of his Majesty's Subjects were dismay'd by General *Cope's* Defeat, and very few disciplin'd Troops in *England*, it is hard to say what would have been the Consequence; by which it appears, that an over-ruling Providence retarded them.

On the 6th of *October* one *Ilinton*, who kept an Inn at *Perth*, was taken up at *Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, as a Spy, who thereupon cut his own Throat, tho' not mortally. On searching him, a Letter, or rather Paper of Instructions, was found in the Top of one of his Gloves, of which the following is a Copy, viz.

YOU are hereby authorized and directed to repair forthwith to *England*, and there to certify to my Friends, and particularly those in the North-West, the wonderful Success, with which it hath pleased *GOD* to favour my Endeavours for their Deliverance; You are hereby to let them know, that 'tis my full Intention, in a few Days, to move forwards to them, and they will be inexcusable before *GOD* and Man, if they do not do all in their Power to assist and support me in such an Undertaking. What I depend upon and expect is, that as many of them as can, should take Care to provide Provisions and Money, that the Country may suffer as little as possible by the March of my Troops; let them know there is no more
Time

Time for Deliberation ; NOW or NEVER is the Word. I am resolved to conquer or perish in the Attempt : If the last should happen, let them consider what they and their Posterity have to expect.

Sign'd, CHARLES, P. R.

About this Time, his Majesty had been pleas'd to appoint Field Marshal *Wade* to be Commander in Chief of the Army which was intended for the North, and our Forces began to move that Way ; the *Dutch* were landed at *Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, as also Part of our *British* Forces from *Flanders*, under the Command of the Earl of *Albemarle*. At that Time the *Tryal* Sloop brought into *Bristol* a *French* Ship, on board of which were five thousand Fusils with Bayonets, one hundred Barrels of Gunpowder, and seven Chests of Money, &c. design'd for the Use of the Rebels.

At *Bristol*, on the 11th of *October*, the Mayor, Aldermen, Recorder, &c. assembled at the *Guilhall*, when the Duke of *Newcastle's* Letter was publickly read,

read, authorizing the Magistrates, by Command of his Majesty, to call the City to Arms, and Officer them at Discretion ; intimating, that his Majesty was highly pleas'd with the Zeal and Unanimity of so considerable a Body of his Subjects : After this was read, the Association which the loyal Citizens had so readily enter'd into, when the Mayor in the Name of the Chamber, subscrib'd the Sum of 10,000*l.* and the Master of the united Company of Merchants 5000*l.* for that Society ; which was follow'd by the single Subscriptions of the whole Bench of Magistrates, and a great Number of other principal Citizens, some of whom subscrib'd 500, 300, 200, 100, 50*l.* &c. Such a noble Spirit and Resolution had diffus'd itself throughout that opulent City, as well redound to its lasting Honour.

His Grace the Duke of *Devonshire* was one of the first that rais'd Men for his Majesty, who arm'd and kept them at his Seat at *Chatworth*, on his own Expence ; and when the Rebels came for-

forward, join'd the County Regiment : He also sent to *Derby*, and rais'd the *Peake* Miners, who destroy'd the Turnpikes from *Whaley* to *Baxton* ; the spoiling those Roads prevented the Rebels from marching that Way ; and the *Derbysbire* Regiment proved of the signal Service in keeping the Country quiet.

By this Time the Militia in the Northern Counties were rais'd ; Affociations and voluntary Contributions were set on Foot in most Parts of the Kingdom ; and in the County of *York* particularly. Through the timely Vigilance and Zeal of the Archbishop, assisted by the Nobility and Gentry, four new Regiments were rais'd, cloath'd and disciplin'd, at the Expence of the County. *William Thornton*, Esq; also rais'd and maintain'd, at his own Expence, a Company, and march'd them into *Scotland*. There was likewise a large Body of Gentlemen Volunteers, well mounted, who appear'd under Arms, serv'd at their own Expence, and put themselves under the Command of Major-General
Ogle-

Oglethorpe, stil'd the *Royal Hunters*; so that there was an Army form'd in the North of *England* of fourteen thousand Men. At the same Time a considerable Body was form'd in the North Highlands of *Scotland*, by the Care and Vigilance of the Lord *Ray*, Lord *Sutherland*, and *Duncan Forbes*, Esq; Lord President of the Court of Sessions, who distinguish'd himself by his Zeal and Loyalty, in granting Commissions for raising Independent Companies; which were all put under the Command of Lord *Loudon*, for the Security of *Inverness*, *Fort-William*, and other Garrisons there. Those Companies much retarded the Increase of the Rebels, which, together with other Military Preparations join'd to a true Spirit of Loyalty, that in a distinguishing Manner flow'd through the Nation, no Doubt, was a great Chagrin and Disappointment to the Disaffected, and was the Cause of drawing off many that went to *Edinburgh* to join the Chevalier. Those Troops, tho' they did not enter into immediate Service, yet they shew'd the Spirit of the

F

Nation,

Nation, protected the King's well-meaning Subjects, and kept the Rebels under a manifest Restraint for some Time.

November 1. The Pretender sent off his Baggage and Ammunition, in about one hundred and fifty Carts, and about the same Number of Sumpter-Horses, escorted by two Detachments, the one by *Pennycok*, and the other by *Lone-Head*, both on the Way to *Peebles* and *Carlisle*, and were follow'd by the whole Army in three Columns. At this Time he who stil'd himself the Duke of *Perth*, had the Title of General; Lord *George Murray*, Lieutenant General; Lord *Elcho*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Weems*, commanded the Pretender's Life Guards; the Earl of *Kilmarnock* acted as Colonel of the *Hussars*; and Lord *Pittsigo* had the Command of the *Angus Horse*: But though, in regard to their Interest, these People were honour'd with such high Commands, yet it was known that the Pretender confided most in a few that came over with him. At the Head of his Council were Sir *Thomas Sheridan*, an
Irish

Irish Gentleman, of a middle Age, and reputed a Man of Capacity, and who had been long about him; Colonel *Sullivan*, who acted as Engineer; General *Macdonald*, an *Irish* Officer, who was his Aid de Camp; Mr *Kelly*, that was so long in the Tower, on the Affair of the late Lord Bishop of *Rocheſter*; and Mr *Murray*, who acted as Secretary.

As Mr *Sullivan* was a Person the moſt concern'd of any in the Rebellion, and whose Councils the Pretender chiefly relied on, I thought the following Character, remitted to me by a Friend, might not be disagreeable.

• He is by Birth an *Irishman*, and
 • was educated in a *Romiſh* College abroad, where he had enter'd into
 • Priest's Orders: He had afterwards the
 • good Fortune to be recommended to
 • Marshal *Maillebois*, of whom he was
 • retain'd as a Domestick Tutor to his
 • Son. The Marshal perceiving in him
 • ſome Symptoms of a Genius better adapted to the Sword than the Gown,
 F 2 "encou-

‘ encourag’d him rather to apply himself
 ‘ to the former than the latter Profession,
 ‘ which he did with such Success, that
 ‘ having attended his Master to *Corfica*,
 ‘ when the *French* design’d to deprive
 ‘ those poor People of their Liberties,
 ‘ he acted as his Secretary. The Mar-
 ‘ shal was a *Bon Vivant*, and used to
 ‘ get drunk every Day after Dinner ;
 ‘ this made him for the greatest Part of
 ‘ the Day incapable of Business ; during
 ‘ which Time, the whole Power de-
 ‘ volv’d on *Sullivan*, who executed it
 ‘ in such a Manner, as to do great Ho-
 ‘ nour both to himself and Master ; hav-
 ‘ ing here again a very high Military
 ‘ Reputation, as well as much Know-
 ‘ ledge in what is the Art of making ir-
 ‘ regular War : He afterwards serv’d
 ‘ two Campaigns, one in *Italy*, and the
 ‘ other on the *Rhine* ; in which latter
 ‘ Campaign, a *French* General giving
 ‘ a Character of him, said, that he un-
 ‘ derstood the irregular Art of War better
 ‘ than any Man in *Europe* ; nor was his
 ‘ Knowledge in the Regular much infe-
 ‘ rior to that of the best General. To
 ‘ the

' the Abilities of this Man we may justly
 ' attribute the Success, with which a
 ' Handful of *Banditti* have so long been
 ' able, to over-run and plunder a great
 ' Part of this large and populous Na-
 ' tion,' On the 6th their advanc'd
 Guard enter'd into *England*.

It may perhaps be expected that I
 should give some Account of the young
 Pretender himself, and his Behaviour a-
 mong his People. What I have been a-
 ble to collect on this Head, take as fol-
 lows:

' His Dress was a Highland Garb of
 ' fine Silk Tartan, red Velvet Breeches;
 ' and a blue Velvet Bonnet, with Gold
 ' Lace round it; on his Breast a large
 ' Jewel, with St. *Andrew* appended; is
 ' about six Feet high; walks well and
 ' straight, and speaks both *English* and
 ' broad *Scotch* very well. For a while
 ' he affected to imitate the Example of
 ' *Charles XII* of *Sweden*, marching all
 ' the Day on Foot, and every River
 ' they were to cross, he was the first
 F 3 ' Man

‘ Man that leap’d into it; he din’d with
 ‘ his Soldiers in the open Field, and
 ‘ slept on the Ground, wrapp’d in his
 ‘ Plaid; at this Time the Weather was
 ‘ warm : This Course of Life he fol-
 ‘ low’d for some Time ; but his *Italian*
 ‘ Constitution not being enur’d to such
 ‘ Kind of Hardships, after his Arrival
 ‘ at *Edinburgh*, he indulg’d himself in
 ‘ all the Conveniences he could procure
 ‘ for his Ease and Pleasure.’

Thus having given a particular and
 succinct Narrative of the most material
 Transactions that happen’d during the
 Progress of the Rebellion in *Scotland*,
 and trac’d the Rebels to the Borders of
England, I shall for a while leave them,
 and proceed to mention, at this critical
 Conjunction, what was doing in *Ire-*
land, where it is well known, that a
 great Number of the Inhabitants of that
 Kingdom are profess’d Papists ; how-
 ever by the Care of the Government,
 in erecting Protestant Schools, many of
 them have got their Eyes open, and are
 at length come to the Knowledge of
 Truth,

Truth, and what consequently tends to their true Interest, notwithstanding the artful Endeavours of their bigotted Priests to keep them in Ignorance and stupid Blindness: Add to this, the Unanimity which at all Times, but more especially then, appear'd among the Protestants, who, in general, express'd the most unshaken Zeal and Affection to his Majesty's Person and Government, and the utmost Abhorrence and Detestation of the unnatural Rebellion, and glaring Insolence, which had broke out in *Scotland*: The News of which was no sooner confirm'd, but an Association was immediately form'd and recommended to be sign'd, by all his Majesty's faithful Subjects of every County in *Ireland*; a Copy of which is as follows:

‘ **W**HEREAS a Rebellion is
 ‘ raised in *North-Britain* by the
 ‘ eldest Son of the Pretender, against our
 ‘ rightful Sovereign *K. George II.* to sub-
 ‘ vert our Religion and Liberties, and to
 ‘ entail Poverty and Slavery upon us, and
 ‘ our

‘ our Posterity : We his Majesty’s true
 ‘ Protestant Subjects in the County of
 ‘ ———, having the utmost Destation of so
 ‘ horrid an Attempt, do hereby in the
 ‘ most solemn Manner Vow to Almighty
 ‘ GOD, and do Pledge our Faith and
 ‘ Honour to one another, that we will,
 ‘ every one of us, to the utmost of our
 ‘ Power, and at the Hazard of our
 ‘ Lives and Fortunes oppose all Attempts
 ‘ against his Majesty’s Person and Go-
 ‘ vernment ; and particularly that abo-
 ‘ minable and unnatural Rebellion now
 ‘ carried on in Favour of a *Popish Pre-*
 ‘ *tender* : And we do hereby promise and
 ‘ engage from Time to Time, wh never
 ‘ it may be necessary, to concert and
 ‘ execute Measures, for affecting the
 ‘ Purpose of this our Association, the De-
 ‘ fence of ourselves, our Religion and
 ‘ Liberties, against *Papery, France, and*
 ‘ *Arbitrary Power.*’

September 17, a Proclamation was is-
 sued by the Lord-Mayor of *Dublin*,
 offering a Reward of 50 000 £. for ap-
 prehending the *Pretender* and his *eldest*
Son,

Son, or either of them, that shall attempt to land in *Ireland*. Measures were concerted for raising several Independent Regiments of Horse and Foot, to be as well train'd and disciplin'd as the regular Forces; so that there was quickly rais'd an Army of sixty-five thousand Men, who were well cloathed, arm'd, and disciplin'd, and many of them march'd to such Places as it was judg'd they might be of the most Service in. There were sent to them from *England* several thousand Muskets, for the Use of such of the Militia as had not any of their own. Those early Military Preparations, joined with excellent Admonitions of well-affected Persons, had so good a Tendency, that not the least Signs of Dissaffection appear'd amongst them. What contributed not a little to the quiet Behaviour of the *Papists* in *Ireland* at this Time, was the following Letter in the Style of that true Patriot and Friend to his Country, Dr *Swift*, Dean of St. *Patrick's*, wrote in a plain and pathetic Style, and so full of Conviction, that whoever reads it, though a *Pa-*
pist

pist, ever so much bigotted to his own Principles, must see Truth and Reason run through every Line and Sentence of it.

The DRAPER'S LETTER to the good People of Ireland; particularly to the poor Papists.

My Dear Countrymen,

‘ **I**T is now some Time since I troubled you with my Advice; and
 ‘ as I am growing old and infirm, I
 ‘ was in good Hopes to be quietly laid
 ‘ in my Grave, before any Occasion offered of addressing you again: But my
 ‘ Affection for you, which does not decay, tho’ my poor Body does, obliges
 ‘ me once more to put you in Mind of
 ‘ your true Interest, that you may not
 ‘ unwarily run yourselves into Danger
 ‘ and Distress, for Want of understanding, or seriously considering it. I have
 ‘ many Reasons to believe, that there
 ‘ are not a few among you, who secretly rejoice at the Rebellion which is
 ‘ now raised in *Scotland*; and, perhaps,
 ‘ con-

' conceive Hopes of some Alteration for
 ' the better, in their Circumstances and
 ' Condition, if it should succeed. Such
 ' mistaken People it is my Design to
 ' talk to in my Letter, and I desire no-
 ' thing more of them, than to give me
 ' a fair Hearing ; examining coolly with
 ' themselves, whether what I shall say
 ' be true. It is no Objection to my
 ' speaking to them, that they are gene-
 ' rally Papists. I do not know how
 ' other People are disposed, but for my
 ' Part, I hate no Man for his Religion ;
 ' I look upon a Papist as my Country-
 ' man and Neighbour, tho' I happen
 ' myself to be a Protestant ; and if I
 ' know what Advice is good for him,
 ' I can see no Reason why I should not
 ' give it him, or why he should not
 ' take it. A Papist has Sense, I sup-
 ' pose, like other Men, to see his Inte-
 ' rest and Advantage, and the same na-
 ' tural Desire to embrace it where he
 ' finds it ; and if I can shew him where
 ' it lies, he will not, I believe, kick it
 ' from him, barely to spite a Protestant.
 ' I have nothing to say to the Popish
 ' Gen-

‘ Gentry of this Kingdom ; they would
 ‘ hardly take such a plain Man’s Ad-
 ‘ vice ; and besides, they have so many
 ‘ Ways of coming off themselves, tho’
 ‘ the poor People were undone ; that I
 ‘ need not be concerned for them. My
 ‘ Care is for the common People, the
 ‘ Labourers, Farmers Artificers, and
 ‘ Tradesmen of this Nation, who are in
 ‘ Danger of being deluded by their Bet-
 ‘ ters, and made Tools to serve their
 ‘ Purposes, without any Advantage to
 ‘ themselves. It is possible, that among
 ‘ the Lords and Esquires, one, perhaps
 ‘ of a Hundred, would get something
 ‘ by a Change : Places and Employ-
 ‘ ments would be promised them, no
 ‘ Doubt ; and a few of those Promises,
 ‘ perhaps the *French* and *Scotch* Friends
 ‘ of the Pretender might give him Leave
 ‘ to keep ; but, what are the poorer
 ‘ Sort the better all this while ? Will
 ‘ the Labourer get one Farthing a Day
 ‘ more ? Will the Farmers Rent be al-
 ‘ lowed ? Will the Artificer be more
 ‘ employed, or better paid ? Will the
 ‘ Tradesmen get more Customers, or
 ‘ have

' have fewer Scores in his Book? I
 ' have been bred in a careful Way of
 ' Life and never ventured upon any
 ' Project, without consulting my Pillow
 ' first, how much I should be a Gainer
 ' by the Upshot: I wish my dear Coun-
 ' trymen would do so too; and before
 ' they grow fond of Change, ask them-
 ' selves this sober Question, Whether it
 ' would better their Condition if it were
 ' really brought about? If it would not,
 ' to what purpose should they wish it?
 ' If the poor Labourer, when all is over,
 ' is to be a Labourer still, and earn his
 ' Groat a Day, as hardly as he did before
 ' I cannot find why he should fancy
 ' it worth his while to venture a Leg, or
 ' an Arm, and the Gallows too into the
 ' Bargain, to be just where he set out:
 ' If he must dig and delve, when the
 ' Pretender is settled on the Throne, he
 ' had as good stick to it now, for any
 ' Difference I can see.

' I believe my Countrymen are not so
 ' mad as to imagine, that the Pretender
 ' can or will give every one of them
 G Estates;

Estates ; and I am sure if he does
 not, they can only be where they were.
 If a Farmer must pay his Rent, I see
 no Reason that he should be much
 concerned, whether he pays it to one
 Man or to another. His Papist Land-
 lord will, I suppose, demand it as soon
 and as strictly as a Protestant ; and if
 he does not pay it, seize his Cattle, or
 distrain his Goods, as readily at least,
 as a Protestant. I have not observed
 that Tenants of Popish Landlords wear
 tighter Cloaths, ride better Cattle, or
 spend more Money at Markets and
 Fairs, than Tenants on Protestant Es-
 tates ; therefore I cannot believe that
 they are any better used ; no, the con-
 trary, I know, from long Experience,
 that there is more Money taken in my
 Shop from Protestant Tenants than
 from Popish ; and therefore, I suppose,
 that generally speaking, they are in
 better Circumstances. I wish that all
 of them had better Bargains ; but since
 they will not be mended by the best
 Success that their own Hearts could
 wish to the Pretender, they may as well
 ; be

‘ be quiet, and make the best of such as
 ‘ they have already.

‘ There is not a more foolish Trade
 ‘ than fighting for nothing ; and I hope
 ‘ my good Countrymen will be too wise
 ‘ to be persuaded into it. Fine Speeches,
 ‘ and fair Promises, will not be wanting
 ‘ to delude them ; but let them remem-
 ‘ ber the Warning I now give them,
 ‘ that when all is over, the very best that
 ‘ can befall them, is to have their La-
 ‘ bour for their Pains.

‘ I doubt not but you are told that
 ‘ you will be made ; and I do not ex-
 ‘ pect that you will take my Word to
 ‘ the contrary I desire only that you
 ‘ will trust the Understanding that God
 ‘ has given you, and not to be fooled
 ‘ out of your Senses. Will the Manu-
 ‘ facturer be made by an entire Stop-
 ‘ to Business ; or the Tradesman, by
 ‘ being obliged to shut up his Shop ?
 ‘ And yet you all must know, that in
 ‘ a Civil War no Work can be carried
 ‘ on, nor any Trade go forwards. I

' hope you are not yet so stupid, as to
 ' think that People will build Houses,
 ' buy rich Furniture, or make up fine
 ' Cloaths, when we are all together by
 ' the Ears, and no Body can tell to
 ' whose Share they will fall at last.
 ' And if there be no Buyers you can
 ' have no Employ. Merchants will not
 ' stock themselves with Goods, when
 ' there is no Demand for them; to
 ' have their Shops rifled, and their Store-
 ' houses broken open, and plundered by
 ' one Side or the other. — ~~THINK OF IT~~ Indeed,
 ' my good Friends and Countrymen,
 ' let designing People say what they
 ' please, if you enter into their Schemes,
 ' you will be ruined in the Struggle,
 ' let it end which Way it will; and it
 ' well deserves your Thought, whether
 ' it is worth your while to beggar your-
 ' selves and Families, that the Man's
 ' Name upon the Throne be *James* in-
 ' stead of *George*; you will probably
 ' see neither of them while you live,
 ' nor be one Penny the richer for one
 ' or for the other; and if you take
 ' my Advice, you will accordingly not
 ' trouble

‘ trouble your Heads about them, but
 ‘ peaceably follow your own Business
 ‘ while you have any ; and if your Busi-
 ‘ ness is put a Stop to, you will account
 ‘ those your Enemies who are the Cause
 ‘ of it.

‘ You may think it a fine Thing
 ‘ when you get drunk over your Ale, to
 ‘ throw up your Caps and cry, *Long live*
 ‘ *King James !* But it would be a wise
 ‘ Thing to think how you’ll live your-
 ‘ selves, after you are beggar’d in his
 ‘ Cause. Will he make good your
 ‘ Losses? Pay one Man for the Plun-
 ‘ dering of his Warehouse, and another
 ‘ for the Rifling of his Shop? Will he
 ‘ give you Money, think you, to release
 ‘ your own and your Wives Cloaths,
 ‘ which you must pawn for Bread, when
 ‘ no Work is stirring? Will he buy
 ‘ new Looms and Tackle for you, be-
 ‘ cause yours have been burn’d or de-
 ‘ stroy’d? If you fancy so, you are
 ‘ strangely impos’d upon indeed ; he
 ‘ will have other Things to do with his
 ‘ Money, or if he had any to spare,
 G 3 ‘ there:

' there will be hungry *Frenchmen* enough
 ' about him to Inap it up, before it
 ' comes to you. I will not say any
 ' thing to you about the Dangers of a
 ' Civil War, tho' they are very dread-
 ' ful, and more horrid than you can
 ' possibly imagine, because I cannot
 ' think that there is any need of it. I
 ' have shewn you very plainly that if
 ' you should be deluded to take up Arms
 ' for the Disturbers of your Quiet, you
 ' fight for less than nothing, for the un-
 ' doing of yourselves and Families : And
 ' if this Argument will not prevail upon
 ' you to be quiet. I can only pray for
 ' you, that GOD will be pleased to re-
 ' store you to the right Use of your Un-
 ' derstandings.

' *I am*

' *Your old faithful Friend,*

' THE DRAPER.

By this Time Field Marshal *Wade*,
 with the King's Troops under his Com-
 mand,

mand, were encamped at *Newcastle* upon *Tyne*; by which Means, with the Care and Vigilance of some of the neighbouring Gentlemen, and of the Magistrates and Inhabitants of *Newcastle*, the Town and adjacent Country were preserved from falling a Prey to the Rebels, and obliged them to make their Way into the Western Road, to which their Chiefs at first seemed least inclin'd. The Rigour of the Season, the forced Marches, &c. occasioned a Flux amongst the Soldiers, which retarded the Operations of the King's Troops for some Time; but good Quarters, proper Refreshments, and an extraordinary Care of the Officers soon overcame those Difficulties.

November the 9th, the Rebel Army appeared on a Moor two Miles distant from *Carlisle*, on whom the Garrison began to Fire, and continued it briskly for some Time: the Pretender took up his Quarters at Mr *Lowrey's* of *Blackwell*, from which on the 10th, he dispatched a Messenger, to whom he gave
two

two Guineas, with a Letter to the Garrison, which was received in at the Sally-Port ; the Summons was as follows.

CHARLES, Prince of Wales, Regent of the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, and the Dominions hereto belonging :

Being to recover the King our Father's just Rights, for which we are arrived with all his Authority, we are sorry to find that you are prepared to obstruct our Passage : We, therefore to avoid the Effusion of English Blood, hereby require you to open your Gates, and let us enter as we desire, in a peaceable Manner ; which, if you do we shall take Care to preserve you from any Insult, and set an Example to all England, of the Exactness with which we intend to fulfil the King our Father's Declarations and our own. But, if you shall refuse us Entrance, we are fully resolved to force it by such Means as Providence has put into our Hands, and then it will not perhaps be in our Power to prevent the dreadful Consequences which
usually,

usually attend a Town's being taken by Assault. Consider seriously of this, and let me have your Answer within the Space of two Hours ; for we shall take any further Delay as a peremptory Refusal, and take our Measures accordingly.

CHARLES P. R.

November 10, 1745 :
Two in the Afternoon.

For the Garrison of Carlisle.

On which the Garrison thought proper to confine the Messenger, and returned no other Answer but from the Mouths of their Cannon.

On the 11th the Pretender drew off his Army, and marched them to *Brampton*, seven Miles distant from *Carlisle* *
In

* *Carlisle*, in the Forest of *Inglewood*, in the Metropolis of the County of *Cumberland* ; it has a pleasant Situation, being bounded on the North by the large River *Eden*, over which is a fine Stone Bridge of nine Arches, from which is *Scotch Street*, leading to the *Scotch Gate* of the City : On the South by the *Peterel* ; the Suburbs on that Side are called *Butcherby*, leading to the *English*

In Point of Force at the Time of the late Rebellion there was the whole Militia of the two Counties of *Cumberland* and *Westmoreland*, who were about 1600 Men,

English Gate ; and on the West by the River *Caude*, or *Cauda*, which Name the Suburbs bear, leading to the *Irish Gate* : And besides those natural Fences it is fortified with a strong Wall and Castle, said to be first built by one *Luel* an eminent *British* King, who was Prince of the County before the *Romans* Time, and from him called *Gaer Luel*. i. e. *Luel's Town*, to which it retraines an Affinity of Sound. It was a flourishing City in the Time of the *Romans*, after whose Departure it was ruined by the *Caledonians*, &c. but in 680 *Egfrid* rebuilt it, and walled it round, and afterwards being almost ruined by the repeated Incur-sions, of the *Danes*, it lay about 200 Years in Ruins, till *William Rufus* rebuilt it, and planted a Colony of Southern *English* in it ; to which Colony the first Tillage ever known thereabout is by all Records ascribed : He is said likewise, by *Camden*, to have enlarged the Castle, and fortified it with a strong Fortress, as it now stands in the North-West Corner of the Town. Almost in the Middle of the City stands the Cathedral Church, the upper Part of which (being new) is a curious Piece of Workmanship, built by King *Henry VIII.* but the lower Part is much more ancient. King *Henry I.* erected it into an Episcopal See, *Anna* 1133, out of the Dioceses of *York*. and

Men, besides the Inhabitants, and eighty Invalids in the Castle ; Colonel *Durand* was at that Time Governor of the Castle, which was well supplied with Ammunition, partly from *Whitehaven* : They might likewise have been well stored with Provisions, as being in a plentiful

and *Durham*, and bestowed many Privileges on it, which were much augmented by his Successors. In the lower West Part of the Town is the Parochial Church, as old as St. *Cuthbert*, after whom it is called, King *Henry VIII.* also fortified this City against the *Scots*, and built an additional Castle or Fortress on the South-East Side, near the *English Gate*. The City has three Gates, which I have already named ; and the Walls round it are now so thick that three Men may walk a-brest on them within the Parapet, which is well planted with Cannon. This City has given the Title of Earl to the *Howard's* Family ever since the Restoration of King *Charles II.* It is the Key to *England* on the West Sea, as *Berwick* is on the East Sea ; it's a wealthy populous Place, having a good Thorough-Fare and Inland Trade : The Houses are most of them well built, and the Streets neatly paved ; and is a Sea-Port, but without Ships or Merchants. It is situated in Longitude 21 Degrees, 31 Minutes West, and 54 Degrees, 55 Minutes North Latitude. This Town in Times past, has been considered as a Bulwark against the *Scots*.

plentiful Country ; but the Gates being shut up for three Weeks obstructed their Markets, and the whole Garrison being kept upon Duty five Days and five Nights, without any Relief, were very much fatigued.

The following SPEECH of the Person who calls himself the Duke of Perth, at a general Council of War held at Brampton, near Carlisle, in Presence of the Pretender's eldest Son, is inserted, as supposed to be authentick ; if it should not prove so, I can only say that it contains too many Particulars of true History, to be neglected ; and therefore wants not its Merits as to Matter of Information. It being communicated to me, I thought it might not be amiss to give it a Place.

May it please your Royal Highness,

“ I Cannot help expressing the Concern I am in, to see so little Unanimity, and so much Heat and Animosity prevail in this Honourable Assembly ; but my

my Concern wants Words sufficient to express it, when I reflect, that there are so many Reasons to complain of our present Situation, that there are so many Circumstances daily occurring to perplex us in our Projects, to weaken our Strength, and discourage us in our Undertaking.

“ Our Disappointments are so many, that we can Number them only by the Days that have elapsed since our first Insurrection ; and their Greatness to be measured only by the Danger into which we are now plunged.

“ Our Hopes, before your Highness's Arrival in *Scotland*, were raised to the highest Pitch, and could only be equalled by the Zeal which Subjects of all Ranks in that Kingdom expressed for his Majesty. We flattered ourselves, that your Highness would have appeared backed by a numerous Army, well supplied with Arms, Money, and Ammunition ; their Number, we were made to believe, would not be less than

H

10,000

10,000 Men, and those of the best Troops of *France*. These were solemnly promised by Mr *Kelly*, when with us last Spring; we were told they were ready in the Ports of *France*, with Transports, and a Fleet sufficient to protect their landing. But when the Time came, how were we disappointed? Your Royal Highness landed in the West, with a Retinue scarce sufficient for a private Gentleman: However this did not discourage your faithful Clans from joining you; being still flattered that the promised Succours were at Hand, and would certainly arrive before there was any Occasion of coming to an Action.

The Numbers of the faithful Highlanders still increased, till they were strong enough to venture for the East. When I had the Honour of joining your Highness at *Perth*, I was then assured that the *French* were actually embarked, and waited only for a fair Wind; and that a considerable Insurrection would presently appear in the North, and several other Parts of *England*. The
Places

Places of the several Risings were particularly mentioned, and we were made acquainted with the Names of many considerable Men in *England*, who had undertaken to appear openly in his Majesty's Interest.

“ We were assured, that his Most Christian Majesty would certainly detain the *English* Forces in *Flanders*; and would hinder the *Dutch* from sending any Troops into *Great-Britain*, by openly declaring your Royal Father his Ally. But how we have been disappointed in every Article of these Promises! The long promised Succours are not to this Day embarked; the *Fleet* Squadron, which we were made to believe was to conduct the Transports, has long since sailed; but whether no Man knows; only we are certain they could not be designed for this Kingdom, for they have had both Time, and frequent fair Winds to have brought them long before now.

“ His Most Christian Majesty has been so far from declaring himself openly in Favour of his Majesty, that his

Minister at the *Hague*, peremptorily declared to the States, that his Master had no Hand in the *Don Quixote Expedition*, as he was pleased to term your Highness's Undertaking in *Scotland*. The *Dutch* were allowed, without Molestation, to send over 6000 of those Forces which were made Prisoners by the *French* King's Arms : Troops which could be of no Use to the *Dutch* in their own Country by the Capitulation with *France*, Troops, which his Majesty of *France* could hinder being made Use of against us, by a Simple Declaration, that your Royal Father was his Ally ; yet this was thought risking too much in Favour of a People who had ventured their All upon the Assurances, Promises, and Faith of the *French* King. And what makes this Disappointment sit the heavier upon us, is, that we are sure, if the *Dutch* had not sent these very identical Troops, they would have been very much embarrassed to have spared others, to perform their Engagements with the Elector of *Hanover*.

“ But the Promise of detaining the *English* Forces was as ill performed as the
the

the other, tho' that solely depended upon his Most Christian Majesty's General. They had it in their Power to have hinder'd every Man of them from returning to *England*; and either I am very ill inform'd, or they might have made most of them Prisoners, had the *French* General been as sanguine at the latter End of the Campaign, as at the Beginning of it. But they were allow'd to embark at *Williamstadt*, without Interruption, and are now almost landed in *England*, without the Loss of a Transport; tho' the Possession of *Ostend* enabled his Most Christian Majesty, had he been so inclin'd, to have annoy'd them much.

"As to our Hopes from *England*, they have been as delusive as *French* Promises. When we arriv'd at *Edinburgh*, and had the Fortune to defeat Sir *John Cope*, our Assurances of a speedy Insurrection in *England* were renew'd, and the Days fix'd; but these, and many others, have passed by, and not the least Appearance of any such Design; tho'

on the Faith of them, we continu'd un-
 active at *Edinburgh*. We might have
 proceeded Southward, while the Panick
 of *Cope's* Defeat was fresh upon People's
 Minds, and before the Elector's Forces
 could possib'y be got together ; but the
 Opportunity was lost, in Hopes, Sir, that
 your *English* Friends would declare for
 you, and supercede the Necessity of your
 loyal Clans going out of their own
 Country. But instead of any such Num-
 bers declaring for you, we were enter-
 tain'd with nothing but Associations
 in all the Parts of *England*, in Defence
 of the Elector's Right ; and not a Man
 from that Kingdom either join'd us in
Scotland, or made any Interest to pro-
 mote an Insurrection in our Favour, in
 their own Country.

“ At last, Sir, the Scene was shifted,
 and new Conditions annex'd to old Pro-
 mises. We were now told that the
French Embarkation was delay'd till all
 the *English* Forces were drawn North-
 ward ; and that then an Invasion would
 be made in some Part of the South, now
 sup-

suppos'd to be left destitute of Troops to defend them; and that the *English* in the North are now intimidated from Rising, by the Vicinity of the Enemy's Troops; but promise faithfully to join us, so soon as our Army gets Foot on *English* Ground. The general Disposition of the People is represented to us, as strongly in our Interest; and we are assur'd, that the Gates of all Towns will almost open of themselves to receive us; and that the People ardently wish to join us.

“ Notwithstanding the numerous Disappointments we met with from the first Beginning of this Affair, yet we were again persuaded to listen to delusive Promises. We march from *Edinburgh* and enter *England*, but instead of that Disposition to join us, which we were flatter'd with, we find those who cannot oppose us, fly us; and those who have the least Shelter from our Resentment, despise us, and treat us with the utmost Contempt.

” We

" We were assur'd by a Gentleman upon whose Veracity I always thought I might depend, and who now hears me, that the City of *Carlisle* we have just now pais'd, would open its Gates to us at our first Appearance ; nay, that your Highness would have receiv'd the Keys of the City some Miles from the Place. But how we were disappointed you all know, and with how much Contempt your Highness's Summons was treated.

" The Value of the Place I know to be insignificant ; nor do I believe the Possession of it would be of any real Service to the main Cause ; yet the Repulse we have met with from that poultry Town, has this Influence upon me, to convince me, and I am afraid too late, that we are all made the Tools of *France* ; a Nation, whose Faith like that of *Carthage*, is become a Proverb ; and there is as little Dependance on the Promise of *English*, Malecontents, whose Zeal for your Royal House these fifty Years past, has manifested itself in nothing else but Womanish

Womanish Railing, vain Boasting, and noisy Gasconades; their Affection for you is most elevated when in their Cups; and their Sense of Loyalty only conspicuous in the Absence of their Reason: Warm'd with Wine and a Tavern Fire, they are Champions in your Cause; but when cool, their Courage and Zeal, Sir for you, and yours, evaporate with the Fumes of the Wine.

" Thus, Sir, I conclude that we have no Dependence on *English* Assistance; to what Purpose proceed we any further then? The Elector's Forces are by far superior to ours in Number, daily supplied with Money. Arms, Carriages and Ammunition; while we are destitute of all these. Your loyal Highlanders will fight for you with as much Zeal and Courage as Men can boast of; but shall we lead these brave Men to certain Destruction? Were the Enemy's Numbers but equal to us, or but exceeded us in a small Proportion, I doubt not, but from the Justness of our Cause,

Cause, and the Courage of our Men, we might hope for Success; but when they are Three to One, and that we must expect to diminish rather than increase, I would think myself guilty of the grossest Barbarity, should I give my Voice to proceed any further into *England*, until such of this Nation as have promis'd to declare for the Cause, actually join us.

“ I enter'd, Sir, into this Affair, with as much Chearfulness as any Man here; I have contributed as much to support it as any; and I think, I may say without Offence, that I have as much to lose by the Event as most Men, and as little to hope. I shall venture my Life with Pleasure to promote his Majesty's Interest; yet I think I owe something to the Safety of those People who have followed my Fortune: I think I am bound in Duty to prevent their Ruin, as much as in my Power, which I think inevitable if they proceed any further; therefore I propose that we return to *Carlisle*, and attempt to possess that City;

ty; for taking of it may give some Reputation to our Arms, and encourage the *English* to join us, if they have any such Intention; if they have not, we must then make the best Retreat back to the Highlands while we can; there disperse our unhappy Followers, and shift for ourselves in some foreign Country, where there is more Faith than in either *France* or *England*."

The Rebels having slept quietly at *Brampton* for two Nights with ull Bellies, lying idle from all Action, except Feats of Rapine and Plunder, for they spent those Days in hunting and destroying the Sheep of Lord *Carlisle's* Tenants, and bearing off the Country People's Geese and other Poultry: They also seiz'd upon all the Horses they could lay hold on, without any Question relating either to Value or Property; notwithstanding they declar'd their Design was to redress Grievances, and Correct Abuses.

On

On the 13th the Rebels began to move back towards *Cirliffe* (by what Invitation I dont pretend to say) That Evening a Non-commission'd Officer went round the Walls, giving Orders that none should presume to fire except he saw something approach him, but nothing appearing the Night was spent in Silence. In the Morning it was perceivable, that the Rebels had thrown up a considerable Entrenchment under the Covert of a Thorn Hedge, about two hundred Yards distant from the Wall on the South-East Side, on which the Fire from the Garrison was renew'd; but the Rebels made no Return, only in Derision, with their Bonnets, holding them up on the End of their Spades, except one Musquet that was fir'd from behind a Hay Stack. By this, and some other Threats, the Town was so intimidated, that in a Consultation, it was resolv'd to capitulate, which they did on the 14th; a Deputation was sent to the Pretender at *Brampton*, and the Town and Castle was deliver'd up on the 15th. I cannot positively say what the Articles of

of Capitulation consisted of, but it appears, that the Garrison were not to march out with the Honours of War, nor to carry any Pieces of Cannon with them.

On the 14th I was on the March with a Party from *Whitehaven*, intending to have thrown them into the Town; but it having capitulated before I reach'd it, prevented me sharing the Fate with them, in taking the Oath not to serve against the House of *Stuart* for a Year and a Day; which, if impos'd, I should have been unwilling to keep. We likewise had sent off several Cart Loads of Powder and Shot for the Use of the Garrison, which was sav'd from falling into the Hands of the Rebels; but they got all the Arms of the Invalids, Militia, and the Light-Horse of the two Counties.

At this Time *Whitehaven* had rais'd ten Companies of 50 Men each, for the Defence of the Place, and rais'd Breast-Works before the Avenues leading to

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the

the Town, on which they planted Cannon; but on hearing that *Carlisle*, altho' a strong Garrison, had surrendered, *Whitehaven* being an open Town, it was thought advisable to dismount the Guns, and put them on board the Ships, that they might not fall into the Enemy's Hands; and many of the Houses and Shops were disrob'd, so that all the Horses and Carts, with many People, were employ'd for a Day and a Night in carrying and putting Goods on Board the Ships to be sent to *Dublin*, the *Isle of Man*, &c. So low was the Rebels Credit in *Whitehaven*, that I saw an old Woman carrying away a large Basket full of Empty Bottles, rather than trust them to their *Highland* Civility.

Lochiel, as I mention'd before, having had large Dealings with some of our Merchants for Timber, and there being a Dispute to the Amount of twelve or fourteen hundred Pounds betwixt them, it was imagin'd he would come and take by Force, what the Law would not give him a just Title to, which was the chief Reason

Reason why so many Effects were removed.

The 16th in the Morning, the *Pre-tender* was proclaim'd at *Carlisle*, and after the Proclamation was over, the Corporation walk'd in their Formalities to meet the *Mock Prince*, and conduct him into the City. Thus have I given an Account of the Siege of *Carlisle*, and, for further Information, shall refer to the following Letter.

A Letter from a Gentleman in *Kendal*
dated Nov. 18.

MOST of our Militia are got Home from *Carlisle*, who generally complained of very ill Usage in that Place; and though p. rhaps some of them may exaggerate Matters through Resen'ment, yet by all Accounts, the Conduct of that City fell much short of what was expected from a Place of so much Strength and reputed Loyalty. An Officer in the said Militia, who is a Man of Fortune and good Credit, declares, that *Carlisle* merits

o greater Honour by its Surrender to the Rebels than Edinburgh did. The Garrison wholly consisted of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Militia, together with a few Volunteers, and two imperfect Companies of Invalids. There were besides some Independent Companies of the Town, who would not assist the said Garrison, with more than two or three Men out of a Company; so that last Week they were obliged to be continually upon Duty, and the Week before one half relieved the other alternately. The Militia were also put to other great Hardships; many of the Inhabitants making them pay an exorbitant Price for Provisions; and they could not, for any Money procure a sufficient Quantity of Straw to lie upon the Walls. Captain Wilson, Son of David Wilson, Esq; Member of Parliament for Westmoreland, paid One Pound Ten Shillings for the Use of a Cobler's Stall under the Walls. Upon the first Approach of the Rebels, the Garrison gave out that they were 3000 strong; upon which the Rebels durst not attempt the City immediately, but went forward towards Brampton;

ton ; from whence they returned on the 13th. The Garrison kept continually firing until that Evening, when they were order'd to desist and they continu'd so all Night, when on the 14th in the Morning it was observ'd, that the Rebels had entrench'd themselves before the Town, on which the Garrison renew'd their Fire, until they were order'd by the Managers of the Town to desist, and come off the Walls ; by which it may be suppos'd, the Terms of Capitulation were agreed on. The Duke of Perth, with his Division, were the first of the Rebels that enter'd Carlisle, which they did on the 15th, the Pretenacr being then seven Miles from the City. They made the Garrison to swear never to appear in Arms any more against them, and Perth shaking the Men by the Hands, told them they were brave Fellows, and offer'd them Money to enlist with him. The Rebels have taken above two hundred good Horses, and all the Arms from the Militia. besides 1000 Stand lodg'd in the Castle. They also found a rich Booty in the Castle ; the People of the County, round about, having

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brought;

brought thither, for Safety, the most valuable of their Effects. One of their Chiefs was kill'd by the Fire from the Walls on the 10th. The Town capitulated on the 14th and on the 15th, about Ten o'Clock in the Morning, it was given up, and the Rebels enter'd the City. Several of the Militia endeavour'd to escape, without being oblig'd to take the Oath, as also did some of Cope's Men, who had deserted from the Rebels, one of which they threatned should be shot as an Example to deter others.

As soon as Marshal Wade had Intelligence at Newcastle of the Rout which the Rebels had taken, he resolv'd, notwithstanding the Severity of the Season, to march from thence to the Relief of Carlisle; and, accordingly on the 16th, the Army began to move for that Purpose. His Excellency intended to have begun his March as soon as it was light but moving from the Left, the Swiss Troops had the Van, which delay'd their Motions for several Hours, to the great Prejudice of the Expedition ;
for

for the Weather being extremely cold, attended with a deep Snow and hard Frost, the Troops suffer'd much. The Major Generals *Howard* and *Oglethorp*, and the Brigadiers *Cholmondley* and *Mo-daunt*, march'd on Foot, at the Head of the Infantry, to encourage the Soldiers. It was past Twelve o'Clock at Night, and very dark before the front Line got into the Camp at *Ovington*; and tho' the Soldiers march'd with great Chearfulness, yet as the Roads were excessive bad and full of Ice, it was apprehended that many of the last Column might drop through Fatigue, and therefore the Major Generals *Husk* and *Oglethorp* sent out Countrymen with Lights and Carts to assist the Rear-Guard, and bring up the tir'd Men, in which Service they were assiduously employ'd until Morning. On the 17th Marshal *Wade* continu'd his March to *Hexham*, where he arriv'd with his first Line about Four o'Clock in the Afternoon; but the Rear did not come up until Midnight. His Excellency having Intelligence that *Carlisle* had surrender'd,

resolv'd to march back to *Newcastle*, which he accordingly did ; but the Weather continuing bad, and the Roads being almost impassible, he did not arrive there with his Forces until the 22d, and even then they were so exceedingly fatigu'd, that had it not been for the peculiar Care taken of them by the People of *Newcastle* who shew'd the utmost Zeal and Affection in providing them good Quarters, they must have suffer'd much more by their cold and dirty March.

This Invasion of the Rebels having thrown all the Northern and Western Parts of the Kingdom into Confusion, Directions were given for forming another Army in *Lancashire*, under the Command of Sir *John Ligonier*, Knight of the *Bath*, a Man of great Experience, Courage and Conduct. The following new rais'd Troops, viz. The Dukes *Montague's* and *Kingston's* Horse, the Duke of *Ancafter's*, the Earls *Berkley's* *Flallifax's*, *Cholmondley's*, and the Lords *Gower's* and *Herbert's* Regiments of Foot, together with eight old Regiments,

ments, were assign'd for this Service, and order'd to march for *Staffordshire*. The City of *Chester* was also put in a Posture of Defence, in a surprizing short Time, by the Care and Vigilance of the Earl of *Cholmondeley*. At *Liverpool* likewise, all necessary Precautions were taken, and the Inhabitants of the Town shewed all the Spirit and Resolution that could be desir'd.

The Inhabitants of *Liverpool*, sensible of what Dangers their Zeal in the Cause of Liberty might expose them to, they were justly alarmed at the rapid Progress of the Rebels, and accordingly the Magistrates, with the Principal Merchants and others of the Town, consulted proper Means how to provide for their Safety. The Result of their Deliberation was, to petition his Majesty to raise a Regiment of Foot, which they readily obtain'd, and immediately began to raise able Men. This Body, when compleated, consisted of near 700, whom, at their own Expence, they

cloathed

cloathed, and paid whilst in the Service. The Field-Officers were appointed by the King, and the Command given to the Honourable Colonel *Graham*, an experienc'd Officer. To this Service, the Corporation (besides the worthy Example they set their Fellow-Townsmen, by their own private generous Subscriptions) voted, at two different Times, 2000 *l*. Here I cannot forbear observing the Chearfulness and Alacrity with which every one contributed to the forwarding this noble Design, since even the poorer Sort did not refuse to cast in their Mite; and the rich were not slack in giving according to their Abilities. The next Point to be consider'd was how to dispose of the Regiment; this caused a Difference of Opinion: Many were for fortifying the Town, and employing these Men as a Garrison; others argu'd from the Situation of the Place, that this was scarce practicable. However, upon mature Deliberation, and reflecting, that to provide for their own private Security, while that of the Publick lay at Stake, was mean

mean and ungenerous ; and therefore unanimously agreed to send them as a Reinforcement to the Royal Army. Accordingly, after having broke down several Bridges, &c. and thereby embarrass'd and greatly retarded the Rebels, they join'd the King's Forces, under the Command of the Duke, and were present at the Siege of *Carlisle*. His Royal Highness was surpriz'd to find them so well disciplin'd, considering the short Time they had been rais'd and honour'd them with some handsome Compliments on that Account.

In the mean while, the Corporation knowing that the Northern Counties had been severely plunder'd by the Rebels, and fearing least the Royal Army should be much distress'd for Provisions, resolv'd to send a Supply ; and holding a Consultation of what Quantity they could raise, sent two Gentlemen of their own Body as Commissioners, to wait upon his Royal Highness the Duke, until the Surrender of *Carlisle*, with the offers of Bread and
other

other Necessaries during that Time; the Former of which he was graciously pleas'd to accept. After the Reduction of *Carlisle*, his Royal Highness having no further Occasion for their Service, dismiss'd the *Liverpool* Blues (for so they were call'd) with Honour; and in two Letters wrote by Sir *Everard Faulkener*, by his Command, was pleas'd to thank the Magistracy and Gentlemen of the Town, for their Zeal and Affection for the present Government, which they had so signally demonstrated.

While they were thus taking Care for the Publick Good, they were not entirely unsollicitous about their own particular Security; They consider'd that many Papists and ill-affected Persons liv'd among them, and to prevent any Disturbances these People might possibly occasion, they rais'd six Companies of seventy Men each for their Defence. These they arm'd and disciplin'd, and made Use of them in the Night as a Guard. They were Officer'd by the principal

principal Gentlemen of the Town, and shew'd great Courage and Firmness of Mind ; of which I will, to conclude the Account of this Place, give a remarkable Instance. While the Pretender's Army were at *Wigan*, it was expected they would pay a Visit to *Liverpool* ; and one Day there was an Account brought that they actually were marching that Way. Hereupon the Gentlemen assembled together, and arm'd as many Men as they could, besides the six Companies, with a View to defend the Town. Towards Evening they sent out a Party on Horseback to reconnoitre the Enemy, who on their Return found the Avenues of the Town guarded, and the lower Stories of the Houses illuminated, with Men planted in the upper ones in Readiness to fire, if a Body of the Rebels should enter the Town : However, on their being assur'd that there was no Appearance of Danger, and that the Rebels had not mov'd from *Wigan*, the Apprehensions of the People were dissipated, and every thing perfectly quieted. Tho' this was only a

mere Preparation, and the Valour of the Men not put to the Trial, yet the Ardour they express'd, and the Readiness they were in, if there was Occasion to engage the Enemy, and not to suffer their Town to be plunder'd without Resistance, sufficiently evidence their Strength of Resolution, and undoubted Fortitude of Mind. There was no Regiment in the Campaign that made a better Appearance than the *Liverpool* Blues; their Officers were a Set of Soldier-like Gentlemen, tho' they had never been bred in the Military Way, being mostly Gentlemen, Tradesmen, &c. yet had acquir'd a very good Discipline, having thrown up their Trade and Merchandize for a Time, and ventur'd their Lives, their Fortunes, and every Thing that was dear to them, in Defence of their King and Country. Such Men ought to be had in the greatest Esteem, by all true Lovers of our happy Establishment.

At this Time the Magistrates of *Liverpool* remov'd all the Powder out of their

their Magazine on board some Ships in the Harbour, as did many of the Merchants and Traders their best Effects, to prevent their falling into the Hands of the Rebels; they likewise remov'd all the Boats and small Craft from the Shore, and put them under the Care of the Ships of War lying in the Road; at which Time his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland was pleas'd to send them the following Letter:

LITCHFIELD, Nov. 29.

*Gentlemen of the Magistracy of LIVER-
POOL,*

THE Proofs of Fidelity and Zeal which you have given upon this important Occasion, and of which Col. *Graham* has made a very exact Report, are, as they ought to be, very agreeable to me; and I most earnestly recommend to you to persevere in the same laudable and honorable Course, and at the same Time let you know, how much it will be for the King's and Nation's Service, that you should not be induc'd, either by

Intreaties or Menances, to call back your Boats and Vessels of what kind soever, which you have sent off and put under the Protection of his Majesty's Ships of War, but that you leave them there, in the Persuasion the utmost Care will be had of them, and which, by this Messenger, I recommend in the strongest Manner, to the commanding Officer of those Ships. I am very sorry your Courage and good Affections are put to this severe Trial, and that you are expos'd to so great Inconveniences ; but I hope the Time of your Deliverance draws nigh, and that by the Blessing of the Almighty, those insolent Plunderers will very soon receive the just Reward of their Villainies. This Army will be form'd in a Day or two, when I shall endeavour to pursue such Courses as will most effectually contribute to that End. I can't help taking Notice to you, how much I am pleas'd with the Account which Col. *Graham* gives me of your Regiment: Be assur'd, I shall be glad to do any Thing that may contribute to your Ease and Contentment ; and to give
you

you the most effective Marks of my
Esteem ; and that I am, truly,

Your good Friend,

W I L L I A M.

By His Royal Highness's Command,

EVERARD FAULKENER.

In my Proposals I only promised to give a Description of the Towns thro' which I passed with his Majesty's Army, but as * *Liverpool* has distinguish'd itself by its most unshaken Loyalty, in this Time of Trial, I thought proper to give a short Description of this Mercantile Town, by Way of Note.

The

* *Liverpool*, or *Lirpool*, is not a very ancient Town but is very neat and populous, the People very polite, courteous and well bred. It has three large Churches, that call'd St. *George's*, is a very curious Piece of modern Architecture, from the Top of which you have a View of the Town and adjacent Country, and towards the Sea, a most agreeable Prospect of the Ships in the Road and Harbour. There are also four Meeting-houses for Dissenters, *viz.* Two for the Presbyterians, one for the Quakers, and one for the Baptists, all which live in perfect Harmony with each other ; a Virtue deserving to be imitated. There was also

The following contains the Route of the Rebel Army from Carlisle to Derby.

At the same Time when they set out, I did also, in order to reconnoitre them, and go to the *King's Army*.

They took Leave of *Carlisle*, flush'd with their Success; some of them being well

at the Time of the Rebellion a large Mass-House, which the Mob could not be restrained from pulling down. At the Head or Extremity of four Streets, which are clean and well paved, stands the Exchange, where from Eleven to One o' Clock, every Day, Merchants, and Masters of Ships meet for Business; over which is the Town Hall, where the Mayor and Aldermen meet, to regulate the Affairs of the Corporation. It is the most flourishing Sea-Port Town in these Parts, and it may justly be said to vie with the City of *Bristol*, the second Port in *England*, its Customs being encreased eight or ten Fold within these Forty Years past; and tho' the Town is said to be above three Times as large as it was in the Beginning of the late King *James's* Reign, yet they continue still to build considerably, being well provided with Clay for making Bricks, of which there are many stately Houses raised, The Inhabitants are mostly Merchants, who drive a vast Trade, with good Success and large Stocks, to all the Northern Parts of the World, particularly *Hamburg*, *Norway* and the *Baltick*; to the *British*

well mounted and accoutred, with the Spoil of our Country Trainbands, made a tolerable good Figure ; but for the most Part they were a very despicable Mob ;

British Colonies in America ; to Guinea, Ireland, France, Spain, Portugal and Italy ; so that there is no Trade but that of Turkey, Greenland and the East-Indies, in which they are not concerned. As it imports almost all Kinds of foreign Goods, it has consequently a large Inland Trade, and almost equals that to Ireland and Wales, with Bristol ; for as Bristol trades chiefly to the South and West Parts of Ireland, from Dublin in the East, and to Gallicway West, this Town hath all the Trade of the East and North Shores, from Dublin to Londonderry. As Bristol has the Trade of South Wales, and the South-West Counties in England, and some North of it as high as Bridgnorth and Shrewsbury ; ---- Liverpool has North Wales, and all the Northern Counties in England, besides what Goods it sends to Cheshire and Staffordshire, by the new Navigation of the Rivers Mersey, Weaver and Dane. This port has Wet-Docks, in which, by the Help of Flood-Gates, Ships of the largest Burthen may ride a-float when the Tide is out ; I saw them this Summer making a Dry-Dock, into which they carry Ships of large Burthen, and keep them dry at High-Water. Here they have brought the Delft and Earthen-Ware to very great Perfection, with which they drive a considerable Trade. Their Delft-Ware very much resembles China.

and

and had it not been for the Arms they carried, it might well be thought there was a Famine in *Scotland*, and that they came to *England* to beg; but they soon undeceiv'd us, letting us know they were sturdy Beggars, committing all Manner of Rapine as they ran along the Country; and their Chiefs threaten'd the Towns where they came with Military Execution, if their Demands were not comply'd with, *viz* in raising Contributions and collecting the Excise.

November 20, after leaving a Garrison in *Carlisle*, this formidable Army, or rather a plundering Mob, to the Number of about 6700 took their Route in three Columns by Way of *Penrith* (sixteen Miles from *Carlisle*, of which I shall give a Description hereafter) to * *Kendal*, where

* *Kendal*, called also *Kirby Candele*, i. e. a Church in the Valley, situated on the River *Can*, which runs round half of the Town, over which are three Bridges of Stone with several Arches. It is the largest Town in the County of *Westmoreland*, and is enriched by the Industry of the Townsmen, and the Woollen Manufacture, with which they

where on the 22d their Vanguard arrived, headed by Col. *Stuart* consisting of 120 Horse, mostly Gentlemen, and 60 Foot; the Quarter-Masters took a

they have drove a considerable Trade throughout *England* ever since the Reign of *Edward III.* As early as *Richard II.* and *Henry IV.* special Laws were enacted on Purpose for regulating *Kendal* Cloths. Queen *Elizabeth* erected it into a Corporation by the Name of Aldermen and Burgessees, and King *James I.* incorporated it with a Mayor, Recorder, Town-Clerk, twelve Aldermen, twenty-four Burgessees, and two Attorneys; of whom the Mayor, Recorder, and two Senior Aldermen are always Justices of the Peace. It is of Note also for the Manufacture of Cottons, Druggets, Serges, Hats, Worsted and Yarn Stockings. &c. There are seven trading Companies belonging to the Town, viz. Mercers, Sheermen, Cordwainers, Tanners, Glovers, Taylors and Pewterers, who have each their Hall. Altho' this Town is situated nigh a very hilly mountainous Country, resembling the Highlands of *Scotland*, yet it has a very plentiful Market for all Kinds of Provisions and Woolen Yarn, which the young Women (who are not so handsome as those in *Lancashire*) bring in large Bundles under their Arms to sell. Just opposite the Town, on the East Side of the River, upon a Mount, stands the Ruins of an old Castle, which was formerly of great Note. From *Kendal* to *Lancaster* is 16 computed Miles.

List

List from the Constables of all the Lodgings in the Town ; and after reviewing all the Houses, deliver'd the Billets themselves. The 23d came in the Lords *Murry, Kilmarnock, Ogilvy, Nairn, &c.* with their Companies, most of which were quarter'd in *Strickland-Gate*. The 24th in the Evening came in the Highland Clans, with their pretended Prince in their Front ; he had walk'd from *Perth* that Day, which is twenty Miles, and was quarter'd on *Thomas Shepherd, Esq;* Soon after came in the Duke of *Perth* with 200 Men, who convoy'd their Artillery and Baggage. The Morning after they first enter'd the Town, they made a Proclamation in the Name of their Mock Prince, that the County People who brought any Sort of Provisions to Town, both their Persons and Horses should be safe ; which was observ'd for that and the next Day until Night, when the Rebels went out in Parties, took several Horses, and plunder'd the Country in a shameful Manner : These and several other Outrages they committed on *Sunday* ; which so chagrined the Country People

People and Inhabitants of the Town, that on *Monday*, when the main Body of the Rebels went out (tho' there were upwards of 1000 in the Town) they attack'd several of the Horse-Stealers, amongst them were two of their Hussars on Horseback, whom they immediately dismounted, and retook their Horses.

Their Hussars were most of them young Men dress'd in close Plaid-Waist-coats, and large Fur-Caps; but having very bad Horses, it occasion'd them to exert all their Vigour in bringing them to a Gallop, tho' very often the poor Beast, notwithstanding the Severity used by their Riders, would drop that speed and take one more suitable to their Age and Infirmities. If the common Men got a Belly-full of Victuals, they were not very curious about the Goodness of it; and as to Lodging, if a little Straw was provided to lie upon, they were intirely easy. The Excise they collected here for six Weeks.

On

On the 24th the Van of the Rebel Army continu'd their March by the Way of *Burton* (a Town half Way between *Kendal* and *Lancaster*) to *Lancaster*, where they demanded the publick Money; but I shall leave them until I give you an Account, that on the 22d of *November*, his Majesty's Ship the *Sheerness* brought into *Deal* a *French* Privateer call'd the *Soliel*, with a great Number of Arm, design'd for the Use of the Rebels, together with 22 Officers and 60 private Men, exclusive of the Ship's Crew

A LIST of the principal PRISONERS taken on board the *Soliel*, as their Names were given in by themselves.

Mr. *Ratcliffe*, called Earl of *Derwentwater*, Captain in *Dillon's* Regiment.

Mr. *Ratcliffe*, said to be Son of the former, Captain in Ditto.

Robert Cameron, Captain reformed, in *Ruthe's* Regiment.

Thomas Nairn, Son to Lord *Nairn*, first Lieutenant in *Ld. Drummona's* Do.

Sam.

Sam. Cameron, second Lieutenant in *Dit.*

Patrick Fitzgerald, Capt. in *Buckley's*.

James Ohanlow, Captain in *Berwick's*.

William Fitzgerald, second Lieutenant in *Buckley's*.

Corn Maccarty, Ensign in *Buckley's*.

Alex. Baillie, Captain in *Drummond's*.

Alexander Macdonald, Captain in *Ditto*.

Adam Urquhart, Lieutenant in *Ditto*.

Lewis Shee, Captain in *Ruthe's*.

Thomas Renally, Lieutenant in *Lawley's*.

John Riley, Lieutenant in *Buckley's*.

Murdock Gennis, Captain in *Dillon's*.

James Seaton, Captain in *Ruthe's*.


Edward Dunn, Lieutenant in *Ditto*.

Merseil Devant, Lieu. in *Saintonge's*.

Edmund Riley, Lieutenant in *Dillon's*.

Robert Grace, Capt. reform'd in *Lally's*.

Clerm. Macdermot, *Radcliffe's* Equerry.

 The Ship taken by the *Sheerness* was formerly call'd the *Soliel*, but now the *Esperance*.

The 26th, the last Column of the Rebels enter'd *Lancaster*, in such Haste, that they only stay'd to eat some Bread
L and

and Cheese standing in the Streets, their first Column being then at *Preston*. From
 * *Lancaster* to *Preston* is twenty Miles.

The

* *Lancaster*, the County Town, so call'd from the River *Lon* (on the Side of which it stands, near its Mouth) gives Name to the Country. 'Tis the antient *Longovic*, where the Lieutenant of *Britain* kept a Company in Garrison, called the *Longovici*. These are sometimes found the Coins of Roman Emperors, especially where the *Benedictine* Friars had once a Cloyster, which *C Camden* says, was the Area of an Antient City, that in the Year 1322 was burnt to the Ground by the *Scots*. After this they began to build nearer the River, on the Side of a green Hill, on the Summit of which stands a fair and strong Castle, and upon the Top of it, at one Corner, is a square Tower called *John a Gaunt's Chair*, from whence there is a pleasant Prospect of the adjacent Country, and the Course of the River *Lon*; and towards the Sea you have a most extensive View, even to the *Isle of Man*. Close by the Castle is a large handsome Church, the only one in Town, and a very neat Presbyterian Meeting House. At the bottom of the Hill there's a very fine Bridge over the *Lon*, to which Ships of Burthen come; and on the steepest Part of it, there hangs a Piece of very antient Roman Wall, now called *Wary Wall*; in digging a Cellar, several Cups have been found used in Sacrifices. King *John* confirmed

The 27th they were at *Garstang*, which is a good Thorough-fire Town, half Way betwixt *Lancaster* and *Preston*, where the same Day I was going, but that I met with some Acquaintance at *Lancaster* Town-end, who told me there was not a Possibility for me to pass that Evening, for that the Road was full of straggling Rebels, who robb'd all that fell into their Hands; so I returned to my Quarters at the *Sun* in *Lancaster*, where the Magistrates and Gentlemen had taken Care for my Safety, by directing me where to call upon People well affected to the Government, who always were free and willing to give me the best Advice how to proceed. On the 28th I got to *Garstang* (being my first Stage) about Nine in the Morning; and

firm'd to the Burgeses all the Liberties he had granted to those of *Bristol*; and *Edward* the III. granted to the Mayor and Bailiffs, that Pleas and Sessions should be held here, and no where else in the County. It is at present a populous thriving Corporation, trading to the *West-Indies*, with Hard-Ware and Woollen Manufactures, and in Return import Sugars, Rum, Cotton, &c.

As directed, I alighted at Capt. *Gardner's* at the *Royal Oak*. At my first setting out to reconnoitre the Rebels, I purposed to pass and repass them in the Road in the Station of a Trader, going about my own private Affairs, for which I was provided with Bills of Parcels, Letters of Orders, &c. in Case I should be search'd by them, to make it more evidently appear I was the real Person pretended to be : But being advis'd not to venture among them, least I should find it a great Difficulty to acquit myself of their Enquiry, as they might be too penetrating not to see through such a Disguise ; and finding my Desires could not be readily fulfill'd this Way, I resolv'd to take some other Method, which should be full as prejudicial as the former, viz. in taking up their Stragglers ; and being inform'd that there were two in the Town which happen'd to stay behind their Command, I resolv'd to go and take them ; for which Purpose I borrow'd a Fuzee and a Case of Pistols ; when being shew'd to their Quarters, I immediately went in and made them Prisoners, and
after

after disarming them I supply'd myself with their Arms, and committed them to the Care of a Constable, who, with his Guard, conducted them safe to *Lancaster* Castle. In the Road to *Preston*, I pick'd up another Straggler following his Company ; and within two Miles of that Town I met the Rebel-Post, returning with Dispatches from their Army to *Scotland*, whom I also made Prisoner, and took from him 49 Letters. I conducted him and the said Straggler to * *Preston*, intending to deliver them to the

* *Preston* or *Priests-Town*, so called from the Religious, who were formerly here in great Numbers. As it was first ornamented with the Beauty of Holiness, to it you may add Female Beauty, with which it now shines, the Ladies being very agreeable, and a large Number of Gentry live here. This Town is situated on a clean, delightful Eminence, having handsome Streets, and Variety of Company, who liking the Situation of the Place, are induced to board here ; it being one of the prettiest Retirements in *England*, and may for its Beauty and Largeness compare with most Cities ; and for the Politeness of the Inhabitants, none can excel. 'Tis incorporated and govern'd

the Magistrates; but they would neither receive the Prisoners nor Letters, fearing the Consequence of so rash an Undertaking, the Rebels being but just gone out of the Town; and as I had brought those two Rebels into it, they oblig'd

by a Mayor, Recorder, eight Aldermen, seventeen Common Council Men, and a Town-Clerk. It was incorporated by King *Henry II.* and had Privileges and large Immunities granted and confirmed by several of his Successors. There are Traces of a *Roman* Military Way over the Common, from *Ribchester* to the Mouth of the *Ribble*, the Name of a fine River (a large Stone Bridge being extended over it) which plentifully supplies the Town with Fish. It is vulgarly called *Proud Preston*, on Account of its being a Place of the best Fashion. 'Tis the Residence of the Officers belonging to the Chancery of the County *Palatine*. Here is a handsome Church and a Town-Hall, where the Corporation meet for Business, and the Gentlemen and Ladies for Balls and Assemblies. Here is likewise a spacious Market-Place, in the Middle of which stands a fine Obelisk; the Streets are neatly paved, and the Houses well built of Brick, and covered with Slate. This Town being a great Thorough-fare, there are many commodious Inns for the Reception of Travellers, but one in particular, known by the Sign of the *Black Bull*

oblig'd me to tarry them out; telling me, that amongst the Crowd in the Streets, there were several who had wore white Cockades, that were for going with the Rebels, and would certainly know me again; so that if ever I had the Misfortune to be taken Prisoner, I might be sure of loosing my Life: On which, a Serjeant of the Militia was hired for 1 l. 5 s. who with four Men to assist him, carry'd the above Prisoners to *Lancaster*.

After they were secur'd, I fled a-cross the Country, intending to have gone to *Ribchester*, with the Letters, expect-

Bull, kept by Mrs *Chorley* : I never met with a better, for all kind of good Eatables, proper Attendance, civil Usage, and a moderate Charge; and where you may have all Things done after an elegant grand Manner, if required. The Trade of the Town is pretty considerable for Linnen, Yarn, Cloth, Cotton, &c. And is remarkable for the Defeat of Duke *Hamilton*, near it, in 1648, when he came to rescue King *Charles I.* from his Imprisonment; and also for the Defeat of the *English* Rebels, who took up Arms against King *George I.* on November 12, 1715. From *Preston* to *Wigan* is 17 measur'd Miles.

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ing to have been pursu'd by the Rebel
Huffars ; but without my Knowledge,
the Gentlemen of *Preston* had taken
Care for my Safety, by planting a Guard
upon the Bridge, with strict Orders to
let no Person pass, to prevent the Re-
bels from having Notice of what had
happen'd, until I was got out of their
Reach. In the Evening I met with
a Countryman, of whom I ask'd the
Way, and desir'd him, that if he met
any of the Rebels enquiring after me,
to turn them a contrary Way ; which
he promis'd to do ; and hinted, that it
was not safe to proceed to *Ribchester*
but on the contrary advised me to
make my Way for *Clithero*. Before I
got into the right Road for that Place,
I came to a deep Brook, over which
was a long Stone laid for Foot-Travel-
lers, and in riding over it, one of the
hinder Feet of my Horse slipp'd, and
we both fell backwards into a Brook of
Water, where I was well dipp'd ; but
my Horse and self, after a little Toil,
got out without any other Damage.
Having no Time to loose, I immediate-
ly

ly mounted, the Water dripping plentifully from my Cloaths, but my Boots continu'd full, and my Fire-Arms were likewise wet; which render'd me incapable of making little Resistance, in case I had been closely pursu'd. In this Plight I continu'd for some Hours, the Night being very cold and frosty, and knew not the Road until I came to a House, where I hir'd a Guide, who conducted me over *Longridge Fell*, to *Clithero*, where I arriv'd about Ten the same Night, and had the Letters open'd by a Justice of Peace. Upon Examination, there appeared little in them of Consequence, except boasting Epithets of Favours, which they had never receiv'd; alledging, among other Things, that the People of *Lancashire* had joined them, that their Army was encreas'd to 24,000 Men, and that they were going directly for *London*, without Opposition, two of them deserves particular Notice, and shall be given in their own Words, as follows, viz.

L E T-

LETTER I.

WE have taken Carlisle, which is the Key to England ! We don't know that there will be another Stroke struck, especially if the French land according to our Expectation. We are going to London without Opposition, and as soon as our Affairs are settled, which I expect will be in about two Months, then I'll return Home to my Family, &c.

LETTER II.

WE have left our heavy Baggage in Carlisle Castle, and march so light, that neither Hedges, Dykes, nor Devils are able to stop us ; We have out-stripped Wade, and have nothing to do but to go by Legonier, and so to London, &c.

These Letters, if they had gone to Scotland, would have been of bad Consequence, in spiriting up the People to Rebellion, especially those who waited to see the Issue of Things ; for all the fore-mentioned 49 Letters, whatever Stile they were writ in, agreed in one
Par-

Particular, of their going directly to *London*: Such an Insinuation could not have fail'd of making some think it next to Madness in them to stay behind, and not to follow their Friends to so fine a Place as that huge City, and get a Part of the rich Plunder that was to be had there. When the Rebels were at *Lancaster*, going South, amongst the Multitude which quarter'd at the Sun, there happen'd to be two Lowland Gentlemen, the one was complaining of his Horse, which in some Respect did not please him; to which the other answer'd, *There were many a guid Horse in Lonon.* The first reply'd, *I ken that right weel, we'll like an get a guid Horse anst we won there, ana mony guid things beside.*

The Rebels were at * *Wigan* on the 28th, when a Party of them went thro' *Leigh*

* *Wigan* is a fair built Town in the high Post Road, pleasantly situated near the Rise of a Rivulet call'd *Dugless*. 'Tis a Corporation erected by *K. James I.* It has a stately Church, said to be the best

Leigh, and an advanc'd Party enter'd *Manchester* the same Day.

Manchester was taken by a Serjeant, a Drum, and a Woman, about Two o'Clock in the Afternoon, who rode up to the *Bull's Head*, on Horses with Hempen Halters (a just Emblem of what they deserv'd) where they din'd; after Dinner they beat up for Recruits, and in less than an Hour list'd about thirty.

best endow'd in the County, and the Rector of it is always Lord of the Manor. This Town is famous for its Manufacture of Coverlids, Rugs, Blankets, and other Sorts of Bedding, Brass, Copper, &c. Likewise for extraordinary Coal Mines, which lie contiguous to it, on the Estate of Sir *Roger Bradshaw*, Bart. which they call Kennel Coal, yielding in burning a very clear Flame, and consumes to a white Ash, like Wood. Of these Coals they make many curious Toys, it bearing to be turn'd and polish'd, so as to look like black Marble or Jet, being formed into Snuff-Boxes, Nutmeg-Boxes, Candle-Sticks, Salts, &c. by one *Tootell*, a Turner, who lives here: It cannot be work'd far distant from where it is got, by Reason of the Hardness which it will acquire through Time when conveyed to distant Places. From *Wigan* to *Manchester* is twelve computed Miles.

They

They were likewise join'd by several others, some of desperate Fortunes who were modell'd into what they call'd the *Manchester* Regiments ; mostly People of the lowest Rank, and the vilest Principles ; which occasion'd him, who call'd himself the Duke of *Perth*, to say, ' That if the Devil had come a recruiting, and profer'd a Shilling more than his Prince, they would have prefer'd the former.' Which no doubt was a great Disappointment to them ; for they had flatter'd themselves with the Hopes of a considerable Insurrection in their Favour.

On the 29th, a considerable Body of Rebel Horse enter'd *Manchester*, about Ten in the Forenoon, and the Bellman was sent about the Town, requiring all such as had any Publick Money in their Hands to bring it in. About Two in the Afternoon, the Pretender, at the Head of a Party of pick'd Highlanders, and in their Dress, march'd into *Manchester* ; he took up his Quarters at Mr. *Dickinson's*, in *Market-street-Lane*, and

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was proclaim'd in Form. In the Evening the Bellman was again sent about to order the Town to be illuminated; and at Night the Rear of the Army arriv'd, where they continu'd for two Days.

On the 30th, I got to *Rochdale*, where I very narrowly escap'd being taken by a Party of the Rebels, who were there to demand the Militia Arms, Land-Tax, &c. near the end of the Town I met with some Men that had made their Escape, who told me the Rebels were in Pursuit of them to take their Horses; on which I turn'd back with what Speed I could make, until I got to a Mill; the Miller shew'd me a Path leading cut of the Road to a Village where one Dr. *Bentley* liv'd, to which I hasten'd, strip'd my Horse, hid the Furniture up in the Hay-Loft, and drew off my Boots, that if the Rebels chanc'd to see me, I might pretend that I liv'd there; by which I escap'd. In the Dusk of the Evening, I set forwards towards *Rochdale*, and in my Way thither met with a Man, who told me, he had been round the adjacent Country,

Country, to order the Arms to be bro't in, and sent to the Rebels next Day; on which I resolv'd they should not have mine, so threw them over a Garden Hedge, near the End of the Bridge, where I went late in the Night, with my Landlord, and brought them from thence; and by the Resolution of *Robert Entwistle* Esq; and some other Gentlemen, the Arms were not sent to the Rebels as agreed on. At *Rockdale* I met with *P----* *M----*, a Gentleman well affected to the Government, who gave me a List of the Road to *Macclesfield*, by which Direction I got safe, altho' not without difficulty. The Rebels carried off all the Horses they could find about *Manchester*, not excepting their Friends, who, if they solicited on that Score, got for Answer, 'That if they had a Regard for *P----* *C----*, sure, they would not refuse so small a Trifle as a Horse for his Service,' They also borrow'd all the Shoes and Boots they could meet with; so that many were depriv'd of their Understanders.

On the 30th, an advanc'd Guard of the Rebels march'd, Part for *Stockport*, (by some call'd *Stopford*, being a Market Town on the Edge of *Cheshire*, noted for its Silk-Mills and a very antient Church; situated on the Banks of the River *Mersey*; over it is a neat Stone-Bridge, which divides *Lancashire* and *Cheshire*) and the rest for *Knotsford*. The said Bridge being broke down by the *Liverpool-Bues*, (already taken Notice of) they cross'd over above it.

The next Day a Party of the Rebels, mostly mounted on Horses taken at *Preston-Pans*, were at *Ashton*, receiving the Excise, Land-Tax, &c. I was there that Evening, and took Advice of the Reverend Mr. *Penny*, how to proceed. It is very remarkable, that in their whole Progress, no Discoveries could be made of the Routes they intended to take because they were never given out above an Hour before their March began, and neither Officers nor Soldiers knew over Night where they were to go, or what Service they had to perform the next Mor-

Morning; which Secrecy, in all Probability, preserv'd them from Destruction; since, however formidable they might be at a Distance, it was the Opinion of others as well as myself, that they were very far from making a dreadful Appearance. In the mean Time the Duke's Army was forming in *Staffordshire*; for, upon the Approach of the Rebels, it was resolv'd that his Royal Highness should be sent down to command the Forces in that Part of the Kingdom; and accordingly he arriv'd at *Litchfield* on the 28th of *November*; his Troops at that Time being canton'd, with a Line of Cavalry in their Front, from *Lamworth* to *Stafford*, making a very fine Appearance, being well furnish'd with Artillery, and whatever else was requisite for the Service. As for the Forces of which his Army consisted, I will only say, that the following was looked upon at that Time to be the most authentic Account:

M. 3.

Ann

*An exact LIST of his Royal Highness's
the Duke of Cumberland's Army.*

F O O T.

Veteran Soldiers	7,500
New rais'd Soldiers	3,000
	— —
	10,5000
	— —

H O R S E.

Veteran Horfe	1,400
New rais'd Horfe	800
	— —
	2,200
	— —
Total of the Army	12,700
	— —

The Army under the Command of Field-Marshal *Wade* began to move towards the latter End of the Month, the Cavalry having reach'd to *Darlington* and *Richmond* by the 25th ; and on the 29th. the Marshal with the Infantry was at *Persbridge*, from whence he propos'd

pos'd to march for *Weaterby*, and then to canton the whole Army in the adjacent Villages, looking upon this as their most convenient Situation, either for distressing the Enemy, in case they should attempt to return, or for co-operating with his Royal Highness's Forces, as Occasion should require. By these well concerted Dispositions, all Apprehensions of Danger were in a great Measure taken off, and the Country People began every where to recover their Spirits, and put themselves in the best Posture of Defence they could, in case of their being visited by these Highland Invaders. Such was the Situation of things at the Close of *November 1745*.

The Inhabitants of *Scarborough* being sensibly alarm'd at the rapid Progress of the Rebels, and the Danger their Town was expos'd to, if visited (they having some Time before subscribed 320 *l.* for the Service of the Government) on the 22d of *November* chose out of their Body a Committee of twelve Gentlemen to consider how this Money should be applied,

plied, who unanimously agreed to lay it out in fortifying the Place; which they immediately set about with so much Alacrity, and without Distinction, under the Direction of Mr *Vincent*, their Engineer, that in three Weeks Time, with the Labour of 1000 Hands daily, raised Breast-Works and Batteries before the Avenues leading to the Town, from the South to the North Seas, and planted thereon 99 Pieces of Cannon, which were taken from the Shipping in the Harbour, and had in Readiness 2000 Small Arms, and Plenty of Amunition; which with the Assistance of the Sailors, who seldom fail in their Undertakings were determin'd to defend the Town for the Honour of the Government and their own Safety.

I will now return to the Progress of the Rebels, so long as they continu'd to persist in their wild Notion of marching South. They were very industrious in collecting the Excise, and that none might escape them, they had order'd Officers to go about the Country in Foot-Walks:

Walks : I got Information of one of these Sort, carrying his Bag on his Shoulder, whom I pursued, intending if I came up with him, to have assum'd the Office of Collector-General for that Time. I set out from *Ashton* with a Guide who conducted me to *Samuel Chetham*, Esq; of *Mellor*, on the Edge of *Derbysbire*, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace of that County; he sent a Servant with me to Mr. *Royle's* at *Bullock-Smithey*, where I left my *French Fuzee*. Thus I kept to the left of the Rebels in the Day, having sometimes a View of them, and the Quarters they left in the Day, I always came to at Night by which I obtain'd the most authentic Accounts, as well from the best Judges as from my own Observations, of their Proceedings from Place to Place.

December 1. The Mock Prince, with the main Body of his Army, and all his Artillery, enter'd *Macclesfield*. The Afternoon was spent in sealing and putting in Order their Fire-Arms, as if expecting a Battle soon to come on; but what

what was the real Intention of the Deputy Pretender and his Council of War it is impossible to say, since it was first believ'd they intended to have march'd into *Wales*; but perceiving if they should accomplish that Scheme, they would certainly be shut up there, and reduc'd to great Necessities in a mountainous Country, with which they were not acquainted, they abandon'd this Project as impracticable. On the 2d, as their Rear was marching out of *Macclesfield*, one of their Boys wanting to buy a Cap, was shewn to a Shop by one that had deserted from the King's Army, who drew a Dirk from the Boy's Side, with which he stabb'd him in the Thigh, and running through the *Angel* Inn, escap'd backwards; upon which Part of the Rebels return'd, threatening to burn the Town; and as he who committed the Fact could not be found, they carried away, as Hostages, the Landlord of the *Angel*, and the Master of the House adjoining to the Shop where the Fact was committed. This shews with what Injustice their arbitrary Power was

exc.

executed, often punishing the Innocent for the Guilty. That Day I was accompanied by Mr *Roy's* Son from *Bullock-Smithay*, to within half a Mile of * *Macclesfield*, when being informed

* *Macclesfield*, or *Maxfield*, gives Name to a spacious Forest on the Edge of *Derbyshire*, which is water'd (besides other Rivers) by the *Bolin*, on which the Town stands. 'Tis an ancient, large Town, one of the fairest in the County, and was erected into a Borough by King *Edward III.* It is govern'd by a Mayor, and enjoys great Privileges and Jurisdictions, by Vertue of the Court, and the Liberties of the Forest. The Church, or rather Chapel (it being in the Parish of *Presbury*, is a fair Edifice, with a very high Tower Steeple, and a College adjoining to it, with Monuments of the *Savages*, and other Persons of Note. There is also an Oratory in it belonging to the *Earls Rivers*, where are two Brass Plates, on one of which, is a Promise of 26,000 Years, 26 Days Pardon, for saying five Pater-nosters and five Aves. Their chief Manufacture is Buttons. The Free-School is of an ancient Foundation. It first gave Title of Earl to Lord *Gerrard of Brandon*, in the Reign of King *Charles II.* but now to one of the Tellers of the Exchequer, the Right Hon. *George Parker*, Son of *Thomas Parker*, who was created Earl of *Macclesfield*, and Lord High Chancellor, by King *GEORGE I.* There are several good Inns, of which the *Angel* is the best, for good Entertainment and civil Usage.

that

that the Rebels were all gone out of the Town, and thinking that I was quite safe, he left me; but as some of the Rebels had return'd on the above Occasion, I rode into the Town too soon, and alighting at the *Angel* Inn, narrowly escap'd being taken. I immediately apply'd to the Mayor, who took proper Care for my Safety; but not chusing to trust much to their Highland Civility, I was afraid of falling into their Clutches, being sensible they would be more fond of meeting with the Person who had intercepted their Letters, than the Man who had made his Escape thro' the Inn, was unwilling to give them that Satisfaction; and as the Favours for which they were indebted to me were contain'd in my Journal, I thought proper to commit it to the Flames, and would have left my Arms with the Mayor, but he told me if the Rebels should return, and upon Search find any of their Instruments of Death, they might be provok'd to burn his House; he therefore advis'd me to leave them at my Inn, they not being accountable for what

what a Traveller left ; on which I hid them in my Room, and only acquainted the Hostler. After I was gone (as I was inform'd at my Return) the Chamber Maid went to make my Bed, and by drawing the Curtains shak'd the Bed-Tester, on which a Handful of Bulets trundled out of a disjointed Corner, which excited a Curiosity in her to stand on a Chair to see from whence they came, where she found my Highland Pistols, which were a Piece of curious Workmanship, the Stock, Lock and Barrel being of polish'd Steel, engrav'd and inlaid with Silver ; and on sweeping under the Bed she found my Sword, which was also of the Highland Make, by that curious Workman *Andrew Ferrara* ; when she came down Stairs, she reported to the House, that some of the Rebels had left their Arms ; but the Hostler told her they did not belong to the Rebels, and that he would take Care of them until the Owner return'd.

On the 2d of *December*, about 2000 of their Foot pass'd by *Gosport*, and
 N the

the same Number of Horse and Foot enter'd *Congleton* ||.

The same Day in the Evening a Detachment went for *Asbourn*, as if they intended to go to * *Newcastle-Under-Line*; a Party of their Hussars advancing as far as *Talk o'the' Hill*, where they took Capt *Vere* Prisoner in the *Red-Lion* Inn. The Alarm of the Rebels Approach was immediately sent to *Newcastle-Under-Line*.

At

|| *Congleton*, is a neat Town in *Cheshire*, about 7 Miles from *Macclesfield*; on the Borders of *Staffordshire*, pleasantly watered on all Sides by the River *Dan*. the Brook *Hewley*, and the *Danings Schaw*; it's a Corporation consisting of a Mayor, and six Aldermen, and noted for a good Trade in Leather Gloves, Purfes, and Points. Mr *Camden* says, that in his Time it had only one Chapel, and that entirely of Wood, excepting the Choir, and a little Tower; for the Mother Church was at *Asbury*, two Miles off. There is now a stately Church besides the above Chapel.

* *Newcastle-Under-Line*, or *Lime*, stands on a Branch of the River *Trent*. Mr *Camden* says, that the *New Castle* from whence it was denominated

At this Time an advanc'd Party of the King's Troops, which lay at *Newcastle-Under-Line*, consisting of about five Regiments of Horse and Foot, hearing of the Approach of the Rebels, the Drums beat to Arms; which put the Inhabitants into the utmost Confusion. The Regiments were all drawn up on the Parade, and rested under Arms for some Time, when about Twelve o'Clock at Night, they march'd out of the

nated, stands not far from *Chesterton-Under-Line*, which is now levell'd. It was incorporated by King *Henry I.* and is governed by a Mayor, two Justices, two Bailiffs, and twenty-four Capital Burgeffes. The Corporation has a Court, vested with Priviledges of holding Pleas for Action under 40 *l.* Here is a Castle which was built in the Reign of King *Henry III.* The Streets are broad and well paved, but some of the Houses are low and thatched. They have four Fairs and a Weekly Market, and a great Trade for Cloth. It had four Churches formerly, which are reduced to one, having suffered much in the *Barons Wars*. The Town is surrounded with Coal-Pits, and about 3 Miles from it is a Manufacture of Earthen Ware, which imitates brown *China*, and makes curious black Tea-pots, &c. resembling *Japan*, being neatly figured and gilt.

Town, leaving their Baggage unloaden in the Market-Place, and retreated to *Stone-Town-Feld*, where his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland* drew up his Army and Artillery, in Expectation that the Rebels would come and give him Battle; but they not caring to risk the Hazard of an Engagement where his Royal Highness commanded in Person, fled off towards *Leek* and *Asbburn*, about fifteen Miles from *Derby*. On the 3d his Royal Highness order'd his Army into *Stone*, for Quarters, which were very hard to get, it being but a small Town; and so many Soldiers soon occasioned a Consumption in the Victuals and Drink.

December 4. The young Pretender enter'd *Derby* with about 500 Horse and 2000 Foot; and, in the Evening, the rest of his Troops, in all about 7000, arrived with a Train of Artillery, consisting of 15 Pieces of small Cannon, and one Co-horn, with all their Baggage.

That

That Evening the Duke of Perth, asking for a News-Paper, the *St. James's Evening-Post* was brought him, dated Nov. 30, which contain'd the following *Advertisement*, with a *Reward*; which he carried to the Pretender the next Morning.

RUN away from their Master at Rome, in the Do;-Days of last August, and since secreted in France, two young Lurchers, of the right Italian Breea; and being of a black Tan Colour, with sharp Noses, long Claws, and hanging Ears, have been taken Abroad for King Charles the Second's Breed; but a Bitch from Italy unfortunately broke the Strain in 88, by admitting into the Kennel, a base Mongrel of another Litter. — They are supposed to be on the Hunt for Prey in the North. They go a full Dog-Trot by Night for Fear of being catch'd. They answer to the Names of Hector and Plunder, and will jump and dance at the Sound of the French Horn, being used to that Note by an old Dog-Master at Paris. They prick up
N. 3. their

their Ears also at the Musick of a Lancashire Hornpipe.

This is to give Notice, that whoever can secure this Couple of Curs, and bring them back, either to the Pope's Head at Rome, near St. Peter's Church, or to the Cardinal's Cap at Versailles, or to the King's Arms at Newcastle, or to the Thistle at Edinburgh, or to the Three King's at Brentford, or rather to the Sign of the Axe on Tower-Hill, shall have the Reward of Thirteen-pence half-penny, or any Sum below a Crown. and the Thanks of all the Powers of Europe, except France, Spain, and the Pope.

N. B. They have each a French Collar on, stamp'd with their Father's Arms, a Warming-Pan, and the Flower-de-Lis, with this Inscription, We are but Young Puppies of Tenciu's-Pack.

Beware of them, for they have got a Smack of the Scots-Mange, and those that are bit by them run mad, and are call'd JACOBITES.

Their

Their whole Force being now together, and the Stragglers and *English* Recruits all come in, they made the most formidable Appearance possible in *Derby*; yet they used all the Precaution imaginable to hinder an exact Account from being taken of their Number, which was a Point they labour'd to manage with the utmost Diligence, during their whole March, often demanding Billets for ten thousand Men, when they had not above half that Number with them. On their first coming into *Derby* it was judg'd, both from the Measures they took, and from the Behaviour of their Chiefs, that they were still dispos'd to march on. In the Evening they held several Councils of War; in which the Debate amongst their Chiefs grew too high to be conceal'd; yet they agreed upon nothing the first Night, except levying the Publick Money; which they did with the usual Threats of Military Execution, as they had done in all the Towns they marched through. They also endeavour'd to levy Men here, and beat up publickly for that purpose, but
with

with very little Success; for there were very few that took on with them in the Town, and those of the lowest Clais both in Point of Morals as well as Condition; which plainly shews how low their Credit was sunk.

They continu'd in *Derby* the next Day; and in the Afternoon held another great Council, in the Presence of the young Chevalier; in which (as it was afterwards known) a final Resolution was taken for returning into *Scotland*. There has been various Reasons assign'd for their making this sudden Retreat: But as it is my Design to relate known Facts, rather than Conjectures, I shall pass them by, and only offer my own Opinion, which I take to be the true Cause, viz. The Disappointment they had met with in the Augmentation of their Forces; for they flatter'd themselves with a great Insurrection in *England* in their Favour; *Lancashire* being the Place most depended upon, as appear'd by their Letters, for imaginary Succours; which County they had gone through without receiving the

expected Supplies, few having join'd them, and those such as I have already described, People of desperate Fortunes and vile Principles: All of any Worth or Reputation appear'd hearty and zealous for the Cause of their King and Country, exerting themselves in their several Stations, as became Men who valued the true Interest of a Protestant Government. There was scarce a Town that I came to, when on the Reconnoitre, where I was not known; but there was an Officer came to take me up for a Rebel; but when he found his Mistake, I was visited by the Magistrates and Gentlemen of corporated Towns, who congratulated me on my good Success; with which they appear'd to be well pleas'd. I look upon it as no Discredit to *Lancashire* that the Rebels got some Recruits amongst them, since they were mostly such as were a Nuisance to the Country; and I think it would have been better if such in every County according to their Inclination, for then they might have had a Chance to be hang'd, or dispatch'd in a readier Way; by which

which the Country would have been eas'd of a Load not worth to be bore above Ground ; and if they had escap'd without receiving their Deserts, yet honest Men might know how to place a just Value on such detestable Wretches. It seems most probable, that the small Encouragement which the Rebels met with in the Place where they had the greatest Dependence, might be the Cause of their sudden Retreat.

The Case was much the same in the Year 1715; although a great many *Lancashire* Gentlemen, with their Servants and Friends had join'd the Rebels, yet they were most of them *Papists*; which made the *Scots* Gentlemen and Highlanders mighty uneasy, very much suspecting the Cause; for they expected all the High-Church Party to have join'd them; who, according to *Patton's* History of that Rebellion, are never right hearty for the Cause, 'till they are mellow over a Bottle; — and then they do not care for venturing their Carcases any further than the Tavern; there

there indeed, (says he) with High Church and *Ormond*, they would make Men believe, (who do not know them) that they would encounter the greatest Opposition in the World; but after having consulted their Pillows, and the Fume a little evaporated, it is to be observ'd of them that they generally become mighty tame, and like the Snail, if you touch their Houses they hid their Heads, shrink back and pull in their Horns. Upon the Whole, it may be said of the *English Jacobites*, no People in the Universe know better the Difference between drinking and fighting: It is true, the latter they know not practically; and I believe they are so well satisfied of the Truth of what they have by Relation, that they never will. — Would toasting Healths, down with the Rump, &c. reduce Kingdoms, mighty Feats would have been perform'd by the Power of the Bottle and Glass; and if the *French* Monarch had a large Body of these Men in his Service, he would bid fair (if Blusterings could do it) of succeeding in his favourite Scheme of Universal Monarchy.

Not-

Notwithstanding all the Artifice used to prevent it, there was, I believe, the most true and curious Calculation made of their Number during their Continuance at *Derby*; which was the more easy to be done, because they staid there so long, had their whole Army with them, and were more regularly quarter'd there than in any other Town during their March: This List being communicated to me, I thought proper to give it a Place here, as it was made by the principal Inhabitants of *Derby* in all its Parishes; and that it might be the more exact, it was taken both the first and second Nights; so that the small Difference between those Calculations, plainly shews how much they may be depended upon.



First Night. Parishes. Second Night.

1590	St. Warburg's	1641
2979	All-Saints	3027
1001	St. Peter's	1001
724	St. Michael's	724
714	St. Edmund's	755
<hr/> 7008		<hr/> 7148

 Women and Boys excluded.

The Rebels, during their Stay at *Derby*, were inform'd, that a Subscription had been set on Foot in that Town, for the King's Service, a little before their Arrival, and that the Money was paid in; they presently found Means to procure a Copy of the Subscription Roll, which Sum they demanded under Pain of Military Execution. They were very industrious in providing themselves with Cloaths, Stockings, Shoes, and other Necessaries while at * *Derby*; and it is

* *Derby* is the County-Town; and has its Name from having been a Park, or Shelter for

is not to be suppos'd that such Custom-ers would pay the full Value for what they had, so that the Difference between their Price and the just Price of the Commodities and Manufactures they took, might be consider'd a second

Deer, which is partly confirm'd by the Arms of the Town, viz. a Buck couchant in a Park. It stands on the West Side of the River *Derwent*, and the South Side of it is watered by a Rivulet, call'd *Martin-Brook*, which has nine Bridges over it before it falls into the *Derwent*. It has a fair Stone Bridge of Seven Arches over the latter, on which formerly stood a Chapel dedicated to St. Mary, but is now converted into a Dwelling-House. When this Town was first built there is no certain Account; but some old Churches, and certain Privileges with which it enjoys, denotes its being ancient; for we read that it was a Royal Borough in the Reign of *Edward* the Confessor, and exempted from paying Toll in *London*, or any Place except *Winchester*, and some few other Towns. In the Time of the Saxons, the Danes had their Head Quarters here, until *Ethelfred* at the Head of the *Mercian* Forces took it by Surprize, defeated an Army of the Danes here, and put them to the Sword. In the South-East Corner of the Town there was formerly a Castle, of which there are now no Tokens but a Hill, call'd *Corr-Castle-Hill*, and is a Street leading to St. Peter's, which in ancient Deeds is call'd *Castle-Gate*.

Con-

Contribution. Amongst the many Prisoners that were confined under a Guard at the pretended Princes Quarter, in *Derby*, was one Mr *Birch*, an emient Linnen-Draper in *Bucklers-bury, London*, whose miraculous and providential Escape from the Rebels ought to be particularly mention'd: Mr *Birch* from his Loyalty and Zeal for the present Government, having join'd the Duke's Army, then at *Stafford*, in order to get the best Intelligence he could, of the design of the Rebels, came here the Day before they came to Town, and sent his Horse three or four Miles off, staying himself till most of the Rebel Army was come in, and then set out to give his Royal Highness an Account of his proceedings.

On *Thursday* Night he came again for a 2d Reconnoitre, but was taken Prisoner on the *Nunc-Green* by some of the Artillery Guard, and whilst they were examining him, he was discover'd by one of the *Minchester* Villains, who had join'd the Pretender, upon *Birch* being

born at *Manchester*, and whose Father is at this Time a Gentleman, of considerable Fortune there, and well knowing his Zeal for the present Government, informed the Rebel Officers of it, who thereupon committed him Prisoner.

The next Morning, before it was light whilst the first part of the main Body were marching out of Town, (taking a favourable Opportunity) he leapt out of a Window about six Yards from the Ground, into Lord *Exeter's* Garden, and down to the Bottom thereof, where the River *Derwent* runs, with great difficulty and the hazard of his Life made his way into the neighbouring Gardens; but in one attempt his hold failing, he fell backward into the River, and being a good Swimmer, swam to some Steps leading into a Gentleman's Garden, which he took the advantage of and went into; but not thinking himself safe long there, stripped himself quite naked, (tho' a very cold Morning) leaving his Cloaths, with a Gold Watch and some Money behind him, which the Rebels hearing of, took away

away with them; he then went into the *Derwent* again, which River he followed for four Miles until he came to *Alcastow*, where he took refuge at a good House, where the Family took all imaginable Care of him, but apprehending he was persu'd, went to another House, where being provided with Cloaths, and a Horse he escaped to *Nottingham*, out of the reach of the Rebels, and has since made a grateful return to those who so kindly assisted him in his Distress: many other Prisoners whom they took here, they forced to march on Foot to *Askeburn* without allowing them any Subsistence, or allowing them to buy any whilst amongst them, and when they came there were tried by a mock Court Martial, and being acquitted was dismiss'd.

Thus have I given a Journal of the Rebels Proceedings whilst they continued in their wild Notion of marching Southwards; which, I doubt not, will be more acceptable to my Countrymen from me (being an Eye-Witness) than from Strangers, who must write only upon Hearsay.

On the 4th, the Weather being extremely cold, I rode all Night with a Guide, and about Four o'Clock in the Morning got to *Stafford*, where his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland* was with the Army. The Town was very full; however, I got my Horse taken Care of at the *Cross-Keys*; by the length of my Journey, the Roads were very bad, the Weather exceeding cold, and the Want of Sleep, it may be suppos'd I was pretty much fatigu'd, yet had no Opportunity to get a Bed; but the Satisfaction of being amidst the King's Troops with the Help of some good old Beer, and a Fricalee of Rabits, I was fit to undertake another Day's March. At Half an Hour past Six I went to his Royal Highness, and acquainted him with the Observations I had made, and repeated the most material Part of the Letters which I took from the Rebel-Post, not having them with me for fear of being taken. Being join'd the King's Army, and having nothing to fear but common Fate, I resolv'd to take my Chance with them in so good a Cause. There was a
House

House by some Accident set on Fire the Morning that I went into * *Stafford*.

On the 6th the Rebels made a Feint as if they would have march'd for *Loughborough*, but suddenly retreated Northward, with the utmost Speed, and fled to *Asbburn* that Night. His Royal Highness having taken all the necessary Precautions to prevent their penetrating any further South, and to bring them to

* *Stafford* is a Town of great Antiquity; *Cambden* says, it was first built by *Edward* the Senior, under the Name of *Berbeny*, where one *Berteline*, who was afterwards canonized for a Saint, for his great Piety, and leading an Hermit's Life: It was afterwards call'd *Statford*, and now *Stafford*; is situated in a fruitful Soil, and a sweet Air, on the Bank of the River *Sow*; is adorned with two Churches, one whereof is very large and spacious; and a Free School; beautified with a large and uniform Market-Place, in which is a House where the Assizes are held for the County; the Streets are clean and well paved; the Buildings of Stone and Slate, and some of them very handsome, with several good Inns. I was well accommodated at the *Cross-Keys*. King *John* made this Town a Corporation, and *Edward VI.* confirmed and enlarged the Charter.

a Battle, march'd his Army that Day to *Litchfield*, and the next Day to *Meriden*, and advanc'd with the Horse to *Coventry*. Most of the Foot encamp'd on *Meriden* Common, betwixt *Colehill* and *Coventry*. The Soldiers had here the *Quakers* gift of Flannel Waistcoats. They being a quiet peaceable People don't swear and fight for the King as we do; the former of which might be omitted without the least Prejudice to our Military Discipline; for I never heard that bloody Oaths without Action were able to defend a Town; but action without Oaths may; and I don't know any Reason but that an Officer may bear as good a Command with *Yes* and *Na*, as with *I-m-m-e* *Bl-d* and *O-n-s*. Altho' the *Quakers* are not in the Practice of fighting for the King, as I have just observ'd, it being contrary to their Principles to bear Arms, yet they contribute to them that do, in paying the regular Taxes, due to the Government. I have not met with any of them, during the late Rebellion, but what were zealous Friends to the Government.

Spoken

*Spoken extempore by a Soldier, the Day
after he receiv'd a Flannel Waistcoat,
thro' the Bounty of the Quakers.*

THIS Friendly Waistcoat keeps my Body warm,
Intrepid now I march, and fear no Harm!
Beyond a Coat of Mail, a sure Defender,
Proof against *Pope*, the *Devil*, and *Pretender*.
The *Highland Plaid* of no such Power can boast,
Arm'd thus, I'll rush the foremost in the Host;
Exert my utmost Art, my utmost Might,
And fight for those whose Creed forbids to fight.

At this Time his Excellency Field
Marshal *Wade* had march'd the Army
under his Command to *Wetherby*, where
they encamp'd on the 5th; and the same
Day Orders were given for the Horse
and Dragoons to proceed to *Doncaster*,
whither the Foot were to follow. By
thus ranging the Troops, had the Rebels
delay'd marching for two or three Days,
their Retreat would have been compleat-
ly cut off; and to have proceeded South,
they must have met with, and been ob-
lig'd to fight the Duke's Army; which
I really believe they never design'd.

It is to be observ'd that the Second
Son of the Pretender was arriv'd in *France*
about

about this Time, where great Preparations were made for invading this Kingdom; though by the timely Care and prudent Precautions of the Right Hon. the Lords of the Admiralty, they were prevented by the Vigilance of Admiral *Vernon*, who was intrusted with the Command of a Fleet of Men of War in the Channel: Notwithstanding, this occasioned much Confusion, and prov'd in that Respect of some Service to the Rebels; but in another Sense, prov'd of great Importance to the Nation, since it heighten'd and augmented that Spirit of Zeal and Loyalty which had so conspicuously appear'd since the breaking out of the Rebellion, and of which all Ranks and Degrees of People gave at this Time such lively Testimonies, as were sufficient to convince even our Enemies, that his Majesty reigned in the Hearts and affections of his Subjects, as well as over their Persons; yet in *Scotland* the Flame of Rebellion began again to spread itself, by the Assistance of the *French*, a Party of whom were landed under Sir *John Drummond*; an Account of which is as follows:

Nov-

November 21. About Five o'Clock in the Evening a Ship attempted to come into the Harbour of *Montrose* having no Boat to conduct her, run ashore on the South-Side of the River, and upon the *Hazard* Sloop's firing, she put out a *British* Flag; but some Hours after it was known she was a *French* Man of War of 16 Carriage Guns, and 8 Swivels, and that she had brought over *Ld. John Drummond*, with two Companies and a half of his Regiment; She came cut in Company with three other Ships, who had on board the rest of the Regiment, but had parted with them in stormy Weather, and they observing the *Hazard* Sloop in the Harbour, supposed her to be one of their Consorts, but on finding their Mistake, they were employed that Night in carrying the Cannon ashore from their stranded Ship, and erecting a Battery to command the Harbour.

Admiral *Byng*, who had the Command of the *English* Ships of War on the *Scotch* Coasts, having Information that Lord *John*

John Drummond was embark'd for *Scotland*, the Admiral order'd some Ships to cruize on the Coast, particularly between *Montrose* and *Stonehaven* where the *French* Ships had formerly landed; but they were driven off by a Storm

On the 22d, a Boat belonging to the *Hazard* Sloop was attack'd by a Party of Rebels that had been hovering about the Harbour of *Montrose* for some Time, who kill'd one, and took four Prisoners and the Boat. On the 24th, the *Milford* and *Ludlow-Castle*, which had been blown off the Coast, returned much shattered.

About this Time the Rebels made a Shift to get Possession of the *Hazard* Sloop of War, which they effected in this Manner, viz.

Capt. *Hill*, her Commander, had sent a Party ashore in his Boats, who seiz'd all the Cannon and Arms on board the Ships in the Harbour of *Montrose*, which he put on board a Vessel, in order to be trans-

transported to *Leith*. That Night about 200 Highlanders came into the Town, and kept very quiet, suffering no Intelligence to go to the Captain, who next Day sent his Long-Boat with twenty Men ashore, to make further Search for Arms; the Rebels as soon as they observ'd the Boat fast a-ground, rush'd forward, kill'd one Man, and made the rest Prisoners, without being observ'd by those on board the Ship; and afterwards with the assistance of some Seamen, they mann'd out several Boats, and boldly boarded the Vessel loaded with Cannon and Arms, which rode at some Distance from the *Hazard*, and made themselves Master of her; then, with the assistance of this Ship, they attack'd the *Hazard*, who having lost so many of the Crew, was oblig'd to strike, after making some Resistance. They gave the Command of the *Hazard*, in the Pretender's Name, to one of the Ship-Masters, who had his Vessel burnt by Capt. Hill's Orders: This Man was very instrumental in taking the *Hazard*. There was another large Ship from *Dunkirk* at

P

Montrose

Montrose; but the *Ludlow-Castle*, which rode at the Mouth of the River, not being a Match for her, was under a Necessity to cut her Cables and put to Sea. Admiral *Byng* with four Men of War, came before that Harbour; but the Rebels had planted their Cannon so advantageously upon the Beach, that it was impossible to get at them; the *Milford*, lost her Bowsprit, and received considerable Damage in her Rigging in attempting it.

About this Time, Lord *Lewis Gordon*, with about 600 Men, was join'd by *Glenbucket* with 300, who took Possession of and laid *Aberdeen* under Contribution, besides obliging them to raise 500 Men, or to pay 5 *l.* for each Man wanting of that Number. Here they proclaim'd the Pretender, and likewise his Son Regent, with great Solemnity. Provost *Morison*, and the Aldermen, who kept a constant Correspondence with the Lord President, fled the City, and solicited Succours from him and the Earl of *London*, who with Expedition sent

sent a Detachment of 800 Men, to recover *Aberdeen* out of the Hands of the Rebels ; but they in that Interim had quitted the City, to go meet Lord *John Drummond*, who was landed at *Montrose*, and whose Force then amounted to about 1700 Men ; who hearing of Lord *Lou- don's* Detachment on the Road to *Aberdeen*, march'd with the greatest Speed possible to get thither before them, and gain'd his Point, while the others were twelve Miles Short of the City at *Inverury*, where they intended to lodge that Night ; here they thought themselves secure, as having had no Intelligence of this forced March of the Rebels back from *Montrose*. Their Men were disposed of in the neighbouring Village and Farm Houses, except one Company, which stay'd with Captain *Monroe* of *Culcairn*, who commanded the Detachment, which, the Evening before, had march'd through *Strathbegie*, where 600 of the *Grants* were under Arms ; those had promis'd the Lord President to join Captain *Monroe* ; but they let him set forward without fulfilling that Promise.

The Night Captain *Monroe* came to *Inverury*, where he quarter'd with one Company, he was fallen upon (between Eight and Nine o'Clock, when it was very Dark) by the whole Force of the Rebels under Lord *John Drummond*, and Lord *Lewis Gordon*; they immediately assaulted the House in which were Captain *Monroe* and some other Officers, some of whom were undress'd and going to Bed. Notwithstanding this Surprize, the Rebels met with a very resolute, sharp and obstinate Resistance; in which there were about 100 Men killed, of whom 40 were Loyalists: Captain *Monroe* and Captain *Macleod*, with a few of the brave Clans of their Names, fought their Way through the Multitude; but several other Officers and Men were taken Prisoners and carried to *Aberdeen*, from whence they were remov'd to *Perth*.

Lord *John Drummond* on his landing about 500 Men at *Peterhead* and *Montrose*, was very soon join'd by the Party which Lord *Lewis Gordon* had been raising

ing in the *North*, as well as by others of the disaffected Clans, such as the *Muckenzies*, the *Mackintoskes*, the *Farquharsons*, and the *Fraziers*, to the Number of about 3000 Men; with which Force he drew down towards *Perth*, about the Time that the Mock Prince was at *Derby*.

December 21. Lord John Drummond set up the *French* Standard at *Dundee*, and read the *French* King's Declaration there, under a triple Discharge of his Artillery; containing in Substance That he, Lord John Drummond, Commander in Chief of his most Christian Majesty's Forces in Scotland, was come to make War against George King of England, Elector of Hanover, in Support of the Family of the Stuarts; declaring that his most Christian Majesty and the King of Spain, were the Allies of the above Family; that they were resolv'd to support them with Men, Arms, Ammunition and Money; and whoever would join and assist Charles P—— of W——, should have the highest tokens of Favour; and

that whoever resisted, should feel the Weight of Military Resentment, in Proportion to the Zeal they shew for his present Majesty.

The villainous and cruel Method this Desperado took to raise Men for his Master's Service, was not only the readiest Way to stagger the most violent Friends of Jacobitism and Arbitrary Power, but to enflame the Indignation of the loyal Part of the Scots Nation against him: For he sent his Men thro' the Country, with lighted Faggots in their Hands, who call'd at Gentlemen and Farmers Houses, enquiring how many Men Servants they had; and if they did not immediately send out whatever Number they demanded, they set Fire to their Houses. The Fact will best appear by giving you the Order insull, which was as follows:

By

By Order of the Right Hon. Lord Lewis Gordon, Lord Lieutenant of the Counties, and Governor of the Towns of Aberdeen and Banff.

W H E R E A S I d^{ly} sir'd and order'd J. Moir of Stonywood, to intimate to all the Gentlemen and their Doers, within the said Counties of Aberdeen and Banff to send into the Town of Aberdeen a well-bodied Man for each 100 l. Scots, their valued Rent, sufficiently cloth'd; and in Consequence of my Order he wrote circular Letters to all the Heritors, and the above Counties, desiring them to send in a Man sufficiently cloth'd, &c. for each 100 l. Scots, of their valued Rent, which desire they have not comply'd with; therefore I order and command you, to take a sufficient Party of my Men, and go to all the Lands in the above Counties and require from the Heritors, Factors or Tenants, as you think most proper, an able-bodied Man for his M — K — J — 's Service, with sufficient Highland Cloaths, Plaid and Arms, for each 100 l. valued Rent, or the Sum of 5 l. Sterling;

ling Money for each of the above Men, to be paid to J. M. of Stonywood, or his Order, at Aberdeen; and in Case of refusal of the Man or Money, you are forthwith to burn all the Houses, Corn and Planting upon the aforesaid Estates; and to begin with the Heritor or Factor residing on the Land; and not to leave the said Lands until the above Execution be done unless they produce Stonywood's Lines, shewing they have delivered him the Man or Money.

Given at Aberdeen, this 12th Day
of December, 1745.

Subscrib'd, LEWIS GORDON

The Earl of Loudon, who was at the Head of a small Body of Men for the King's Service in the North, spar'd no Pains or Diligence in exciting the well affected Clans to join him; and by the Reinforcements he receiv'd from the Lords Sutherland and Ray, the Macleods, the Grants, the Monroes, and the Gums, he was soon 2000 strong. At Edinburgh

burgh likewise, and at *Glasgow* they began to raise Men for the Service of the Government, with great Chearfulness and Success; so that two good Regiments were compleated, besides Independent Companies.

December 7. His Royal Highness got certain Intelligence that the Rebels were marching North on which he put himself next Morning at the Head of his Horse and Dragoons, with some Volunteers in order to follow the Rebels and stop them until the Foot came up, which was impossible, for the Rebels Fears were so great that they run Day and Night, until they had got to *Carlisle*, where they had left a Garrison; their Rout was as follows:

December 7. They march from *Asburn* to *Leek*, destroying in their Passage what they judg'd might be of Use to the King's Troops that were in Pursuit of them, and shewing a warm Spirit of Resentment for the Disappointments they had met with, which provok'd the Country

Country People to do them all the Mischief they could ; they carried their Train of Artillery with them.

The 9th, about Noon, their Vanguard reach'd * *Manchester*, and that Evening

* *Manchester* is situated on the Bank of the River *Irwell*, over which is a stately Stone-bridge going into *Salford*, which Village is only separated from *Manchester* by this River, as the City of *London* from *Southwark* by the River *Thames*. Tho' this is no City, Corporation, nor so much as a Town, strictly speaking, the highest Magistrate being a Constable or Headborough, yet it may be stiled the greatest meer Village in *England*, and is more populous than *York*, or most Cities in this Kingdom. The People here, including *Salford*, are computed to be no less than 30,000. As this Town is very populous, so the Inhabitants are very industrious, driving an extraordinary Trade in Fustian Manufactures, and that called *Manchester Cottons* for Women's Wear ; for which it has been famous above 100 Years, and has been much improved of late, by some Inventions of Dying and Printing, which, with the great Variety of other Manufactures, known by the Name of *Manchester Goods*, as Tickings, Linnen, Checks, Hats, and all Kinds of what they call Small Wares, as Threads, Tapes, Filleting, Qualities, &c. greatly enrich the Town, and

Evening the Mock Prince with the main
of his Army, came there, were they
were

and render the People industrious, resembling
those of *Holland*; the Children here being all
employ'd to earn their Bread: They export vast
Quantities of their Goods Abroad, as to the *West-Indies*, &c. As an Inland Town, it has the best
Trade of any in these Northern Parts. I have al-
ready said that this Town is the most populous,
and the Inhabitants the most industrious; to
which I may add, that the Buildings are most
sumptuous of any hereabout. Here is a fine *Gothic* Church, which is Collegiate, built in 1742,
a very large beautiful, and stately Edifice, with
a Choir remarkable for its neat and curious carved
Work; there belongs to it at present a College,
consisting of one Warden, four fellows, two Chap-
lains four singing Men, and four Choristers. The
College was originally founded by *Thomas West*,
Brother to the Lord *Delaware*, by the Name of *St. Mary's*, in Honour of the Virgin *Mary*, to whom
the Parish Church was before dedicated. It was
founded a-new by Queen *Elizabeth*, in 1578, by
the Name of *Christ's College* in *Manchester*,
which Foundation was afterwards confirmed by
King *Charles I.* in 1636, and incorporated by
Archbishop *Laud*. Here is an Hospital, a School
and a large Library well furnished with Books,
founded by *Humphry Chetham*, Esq; about 100
Years ago, where sixty Boys are well maintain'd,
cloath'd, and instructed in necessary Learning,
and

were not receiv'd as they had been before, nor have I hear'd that the new-made

and then put out Apprentices. As the Inhabitants become more numerous, in Proportion to the increase of their Trade, a new Parish is erected, and a new Church built in it, dedicated to *St. Anne*; and the Town is very much improved, by the building of a very handsome Street of stately Houses, at the End of which the said Church is erected. Near this Church stands the *Presbyterian* Meeting-House, which was pulled down by the *Jacobite* Mob at the Time of the Rebellion in the Year 1715, but was quickly rebuilt, and is now a very stately Structure, not inferior to any in *London*. This Town has a good Market Place and a modern Exchange, with many other elegant and magnificent Buildings. Here is likewise a small *Baptist* Meeting House, and a *Jacobite* Nonjuring Chapel. I don't know of what Body the Congregation consists, they not allowing any to come amongst them but such as are of their own Sort, who (like the more worshipful Society of Free Masons) are under an Oath not to divulge what is transacted there, except it be to a just and lawful *Jacobite*, as he or she shall appear to be upon Examination.

In this County the Women are generally very handsome, by which they have acquired the Name of *Lancashire Witches*, which Appellation they really deserve, being very agreeable, but some

made Officers had the Compliments paid them as usual on such Occasions ; but on the

Some of the pretty *Jacobite Witches* chuse to distinguish themselves by wearing Plaid Breast-Knots, Ribbons, and Garters tied above the Knee, which may be remonstrated as dangerous to the Constitution ; for that above a Lady's Knee is of so attracting a Quality, as to endanger the drawing his Majesty's good Subjects, not only the Civil but Military Gentlemen, off their Duty.

If rightly considered, the Fair Sex should exert all their Charms to oppose this *Popish Scheme*, as one of them well represents it thus ;

Surely, we Women have the strongest Reason,
To stop the Progress of this *Popish* Treason ;
When *Female Liberty* is now at Stake,
All Women ought to bustle for its Sake.
Should these audacious Sons of *Rome* prevail,
Vows, Convents, and that hated Thing a *Veil*,
Must come in Fashion ; and such Institution,
Would suit but oddly with our Constitutions :
What gay Coquet would brook a *Nun's* Profession ?
And we've some private Reasons 'gainst Confession
Besides, our good Men of the *Church*, they say,
(Who now, thank Heav'n, may love as well as
pray)

Must then be only wed to *Cloister'd Houses* ;
Slap then we're nick'd of 20,000 Spouses ;
And Faith no bad ones, as I'm told ; then judge ye,

Q

Is't

the contrary, the Town's People, or at least the Mob, gave them some pretty visible Marks of their Dislike; which was Punish'd immediately by an Order or Precept in the Name of the Mock Prince, and sign'd and seal'd by Mr *Murray*, his Secretary, directed to the Constables and Collectors of the Land-Tax for the Towns of *Manchester* and *Salford*, requiring them to levy and collect, by the next Day at Noon the Sum of 2500 l. to be paid to Mr *Murray*, with a Promise of Repayment, when the Country should be settled under his Government.

On the 10th the Rebels left *Manchester*, and continu'd their March by *Pendleton-Poole*, towards *Leigh* and *Wigan*,

Is't fit we loose our *Benefit of Clergy*?
 In *Freedom's Cause*, ye Patriot Fair arise,
 Exert the *sacred Influence* of your Eyes;
 On *Valiant Merit* deign alone to smile,
 And vindicate the *Glory* of our Isle;
 To no base Rebel prostitute your Charms;
 In War, disband the Lover who deserts his Arms;
 So shall you fire each Hero to his Duty,
 And *British Rights* be sav'd by *British Beauty*.
 which

which last Place they reach'd that Evening, and push'd on from thence to *Preston* the next Day, being extremely apprehensive of finding themselves surrounded in that Neighbourhood.

On the 13th, in the Morning, they quitted *Preston*, and continu'd their March to *Lancaster*, where they set open the Goal, and releas'd the Rebel Prisoners taken by me, with some others, and behav'd in a very rude Manner, as appears by the following Letter transmitted to me by a Friend.

Lancaster, Dec. 19.

THE Rebels in their Passage thro' this Town last Week, behav'd like a Parcel of the most consummate Villains: The meaner Part of them pilfer'd and stole every Thing portable for their Purpose; and their Chiefs sent Ruffians to plunder and extort Money in a most brutal Manner, from Gentlemen who had exerted themselves most against them. From Mr

‘ *Gillison* they got 21 l. and a Party of
 ‘ the fiercest of them were sent to Dr.
 ‘ *Fenton’s*, the Vicar of this Town, who
 ‘ committed all the Outrages there, their
 ‘ Malice suggested. The Doctor was
 ‘ fled ; but they presented several Pistols
 ‘ and drawn Swords at a Time to the
 ‘ Breasts and Heads of his Servants, and
 ‘ caus’d every Room, Chest, Drawer, and
 ‘ Box in the House, to be open’d or
 ‘ broke open ; out of which they took
 ‘ what they pleas’d ; and then swore
 ‘ most vehemently they would burn the
 ‘ House, unless 20 l. was paid to redeem
 ‘ it. This so terrified the old Lady in the
 ‘ House, that she advanc’d that Sum in
 ‘ Behalf of the Doctor. No sooner had
 ‘ they got the Money, but they bid the
 ‘ Doctor’s Servants tell him, that they
 ‘ would shoot him thro’ the Head when-
 ‘ ever they met with him ; for they swore
 ‘ they were well inform’d that he was
 ‘ the greatest Enemy they had in *Lan-*
 ‘ *casbire*, by his frequent preaching
 ‘ agaiſt them, and intimidating and re-
 ‘ ſtraining their Friends as a Justice of
 ‘ Peace.

When

When they were in this Town a false Report arose, and was carried North, viz that the King's Troops had come up with and totally defeated the Rebels near *Lancaster*; which caus'd great Rejoicings in that Country, and many Candles and Tar-Barrels were burnt at *Whitehaven* on that Occasion, with some Gunpowder.

On the 14th, the Rebels continu'd their Rout from *Lancaster* to *Kendal*, where the Duke of *Perth*, with the advanc'd Guard, to the Number of about 100 Horsemen, enter'd in the Forenoon, but met with a bad Reception from the Townsmen, who were up in Arms to fall on these who had escap'd at the supposed Battle; so that they fir'd on *Perth's* Men, and there were some kill'd on both Sides. I have since seen the Place where one of the Rebels was buried, which is about four Miles from *Kendal*, where he dropp'd and died of his Wounds.

On the 15th, *Perth* and his Horsemen got to *Penrith*, where the Townsmen

fell on them also; on which the Rebels retreated and fled, the Townsmen pursuing for several Miles, so that there was a pretty Sort of a Hunting Match; and altho' the Gentlemen of *Penrith* are not accustom'd to hunt on a Sunday, yet they follow'd the Chase that Day with great Alacrity, until they lost both sight and Scent of them. When the Rebels got back to *Shap*, which is a little Village in the Road betwixt *Penrith* and *Kendal*, the Beacons were lighted on every Side; and being inform'd that it was done to raise the Country, and that the People were dispos'd to fall on them, they thought proper to retire to *Kendal* which they accordingly did about Two in the Morning, where the Pretender with most of his Forces arriv'd. This Affair was likely to prove of bad Consequence to the Towns of *Kendal* and *Penrith*, had not his Royal Highness been so nigh.

On the 16th, by Break of Day, the Rebels began their March for *Penrith*, which they propos'd to have reach'd that Night

Night, but finding it impracticable, they thought fit to halt at *Shap*; where I will leave them for the present, that I may the better give my Readers an Account of the Motions of the King's Forces, in order to overtake them.

December 8. His Royal Highness set from *Meridan* Camp, in Pursuit of the Rebels; and to facilitate his March, the Country People, firm and loyal to their King, brought in Horses to mount 1000 Foot Soldiers, draughted out of several Regiments, that were to follow the Duke in order to overtake the Rebels; our Foot Soldiers not being accustomed to riding I thought they looked odd on Horse-back, with their Muskets and Knap-Sacks slung over their shoulders; but their Desire to come up with the Rebels was visible in every one of their Countenances; with so much Pleasure they rode along, and the Countrymen with fresh Horses coming to remount our Soldiers, running themselves on Foot very chearfully, that it really afforded a most pleasing Prospect,

On

On the Duke's Arrival at *Cheadle*, in *Staffordshire*, the Country People brought in a Rebel Spy, which they deliver'd to our Army, when on their March to *Macclesfield*, where he was hang'd on a Gibbet, and order'd to swing until Eight o'Clock that Night; when, about that Time, Mr *G—— A——*, an Apothecary and Surgeon, in that Town, went to the Centinel to buy the Body, which he bought for 4s 6d. The Dragoon who sold it thought it a good Price, and the Doctor was likewise well pleas'd with his Bargain; intending to anatomize his Carcase, and expected to have had Leather of the Skin (worth his Money) which he accordingly gave to a Tanner to dress; but the Miracle Monks said, that the Hide was of so holy a Nature, that it would not Tan, nor be confin'd to lie under Water, by any Weight that could be put upon it; so that the Tanner after much Labour lost, was oblig'd to take his holy Hide and bury it. As the Person died a Martyr to a good Cause, as they call it, and enlisted himself under the Banner of Rebellion, with a holy Resolution

folution to murder the King and Royal Family, with all other Hereticks out of the Pale of their Catholick Church ; if this Skin had been preserv'd and well manag'd, by a skilful Priest, their might have been as many Miracles wrought by it, as any holy Relict brought from *Rome*, though bought there at an high Price.

On the 10th, the Duke arriv'd at *Macclesfield*, with two Regiments of Dragoons, having a Body of 1000 Foot, at no great Distance ; from whence he sent Orders to *Manchester* and other Place, that nothing might be neglected, that would contribute to retard or distress the Enemy.

On the 11th, Major *Wheatley* was detach'd with an advanc'd Party of Dragoons to harraßs the Rear of the Rebels, and to join the Light-arm'd Troops that were expected from the other Army ; the Motions of which shall be next accounted for to this Time ; after which the Pursuit was entirely under his Royal Highness's Direction. His

His Excellency Field-Marshal *Wade* having receiv'd certain Intelligence of the Proceedings of the Rebels, and of the Situation of the King's Troops, under the Command of his Royal Highness, held, on the 8th of *December*, a great Council of War at *Ferry-Bridge*, to consider of the most effectual Means for cutting off the Retreat of the Rebels march'd directly by *Wakefield* and *Halifax* to *Lancashire*, as the most likely Way to intercept the *Flighlanders*, but arriving at *Wakefield* on the 10th, and having Advice that the Main Body of the Rebels were at *Manchester*, and their Van-Guard moving from thence to *Preston*, his Excellency now finding that it was impossible to come up with them, judg'd it necessary to fatigue his Troops with hard Marches, and therefore detach'd Major-General *Oglethorpe*, on the 10th, with the Cavalry under his Command; and then he began his March with the rest of his Forces for *Newcastle*.

On the 13th, a great Body of Horse and Dragoons, that were, as has been said

said, under the Command of Major-General *Oglethorpe*, arriv'd at *Preston*, having march'd 100 Miles in three Days, over Snow and Ice, which was a noble Testimony of Zeal and Spirit especially in the new-ra's'd Troops. His Royal Highness arriv'd about One o'Clock at the same Place, and immediately gave his Orders for continuing the Pursuit of the Rebels, with the utmost Diligence; there was a Rebel Spy taken and executed here.

On the 14th, General *Oglethorpe* advanc'd towards *Lancaster*, which Place the Duke reach'd on the 16th. General *Oglethorpe* continu'd his Pursuit at the Heels of the Rebels, and on the 17th the Major-General and his Royal Highness enter'd at *Kendal*, having now more Hopes of coming up with the Enemy than any Time during the March; and the Dispositions which were made by the Duke for that Purpose were such, as shew'd the utmost Penetration and Military Skill.

On

On *Wednesday* the 18th of *December*, the King's Light Horse, after ten Hours March, came in Sight of the Rebels, near *Lowther-Hall*, where they surpriz'd the Duke's Running Footman and took him Prisoner; from whom they learn'd, that his Royal Highness with his Cavalry was coming up at a little Distance; on which Information the Rebels threw themselves into the Village of *Clifton*, from whence Lord *George Murray*, who commanded the Rear-Guard, dispatch'd his Aid-de-Camp to *Penrith*, which is three Miles, to acquaint the Pretender therewith, who immediately order'd a Body of Horse and Foot to reinforce Lord *George*, and a Design was form'd to surprize the Light-Horse; to which End, a Party march'd through Lord *Lonsdale's* Park to get behind them; in the mean Time, the Rebels at *Clifton* had posted themselves in the most advantageous Manner, by lining every Hedge, Orchard, and Out-house, from the South End of *Clifton*, to *Thomas Savage's*, a Quaker at the Foot of the Moor, where a Party of the Rebels were posted
and

and from whence they made the first Fire at the Duke's Hussars. By this Time his Royal Highness, with the Dragoons, was come up, and the Rebels Ambuscade was fully form'd, from whence, it is very likely, the King's Troops might have receiv'd considerable Damage, had not *Jonathan Savage*, who went thro' the Fields in Danger of his Life, acquainted the Duke with the Rebels Design. His Royal Highness having before sent a Party to *Lowther-Hall*, and to the Wood, and another Party under General *Ogletborpe*, which mov'd to the Right, drew up his Troops; on *Clifton Moor*, and advanc'd; but finding it impossible to come at the Rebels on Horseback, order'd Detachments from *Bland's* Lord *Mark Kerr's* and *Cobham's* Dragoons to dismount and attack the Ambuscades, and the Posts the Rebels were in Possession of, which they regularly did with great Resolution: The Action was very sharp and desperate while it lasted, but at last ended in our Favour, notwithstanding the Rebels, from their Situation, had

R

greatly

greatly the Advantage of us, we being oblig'd to go over the Hedges up to the Boot Tops in Water; not only so, but it being late in the Evening, they could see our Buff-Belts and Lac'd Hats, when we could not so well discern their Blue Bonnets and Dark-colour'd Plaids; so that we directed our Fire at their Fire, which was very hot on both Sides. Notwithstanding these Disadvantages, we push'd them with such Intrepidity, that in about an Hour they quitted the Field and the neighbouring Villages, and fled to *Penrith*.

It was so late before the Affair was over, and the Country so cover'd, that it was impossible to follow them with any Probability of Success, so that his Royal Highness took up his Quarters at *Thomas Savage's* House, who rejoic'd much in Spirit, that such a Guest was come under his Roof. There were of the King's Forces eleven kill'd, and twenty-nine wounded; of the former there were seven of *Bland's*, three of *Cobham's*, and one of *Mark Kerr's*; amongst the latter

latter, were four Officers, viz Colonel *Henrywood*, Captain *East*, and the Coronets *Owen* and *Hamilton*. On the Side of the Rebels their Loss is not certainly known, we found five dead in the Field; and a Countryman told me, that there were about thirty seen, whom the Rebels had thrown into a River, that the Number of their Slain might not be known: One of the Duke's Hussars took Mr *Hamilton*, Captain of the Rebel Hussars, and cut him in the Head. I saw him that Night after the Skirmish in a very bloody Condition, and afterwards saw him executed at *York*; of which I shall give an Account in its proper Place. One *Ogden* of *Manchester*, was likewise taken by an Hussar, who after he had begg'd his Life, privately drew a Pistol and shot at the Hussar, but miss'd him; he in Return cut *Ogden* down the Side of his Head: I have since been inform'd that he died in *Lancaster Goal*.

The King's Troops continu'd under Arms all Night, which was very rainy, and in the Morning we had about sixty

of the Rebels Prisoners, many of them being pick'd up by the Country People Whilst the Rear-Guard of the Rebels was engag'd with the King's Forces at *Clifton*, their main Body was at *Penrith*, and so apprehensive of being overtaken, that at Ten o'Clock that Night, they order'd their Artillery and Baggage to advance towards *Carlisle*; and on the 19th in the Morning they enter'd that City, excessively fatigu'd, and in much Confusion; where I will leave them at this Juncture, until I gave an Account of the Means used to recover the City.

On the 19th, his Royal Highness enter'd *Penrith* with his Cavalry, and continu'd there two Days, until his Infantry came up: His Presence at that Time afforded much Satisfaction to the Town's People; for nothing but the Intrepidity of the Pursuit could have sav'd the Town from the Resentment of the Rebels, as they had threatened them, for driving back the advanc'd Guard, already taken Notice of, and another Affair that I had forgot to mention in its proper Place, which happen'd as follows: On

On the 27th of November, Lord Kilmarnock's Son, with eighteen other Rebels, came from *Curisle* to *Penrith*, all on Horseback, with their Swords drawn, and demanded Billets for 1000 Men, whom they pretended were to follow them; but on perceiving that the Town's People were consulting to fall upon them, they rode off in great Haste that Night to *Lowther-Hall* the Seat of Lord *Lonsdale*, where they lock'd fast the Gates, and sent three of their Number to watch the Approach of Disturbers; the rest went into the House, where they broke fourteen Locks, in order to plunder: They order'd a fine Supper, and got Liquor of all Kinds, expecting to be all well mounted the next Morning; but one of Lord *Lonsdale*'s Stewards getting away to *Penrith*, he return'd with about 30 brave stout young Men well arm'd, who were resolv'd to conquer or die in the Attempt; they got to *Lowther-Hall* about Eleven that Night, when the Guards having alarm'd the Gentlemen, who were just sitting down to Supper, they immediately got to Arms, and there was

pretty smart firing on both Sides for about halt an Hour, the one Party being within, and the other without ; but the *Penrith* Men forc'd their Way in, and took eleven Prisoners who were sent to Marshal *Wade*'s Army : Three of the Rebels, it was thought, died of their Wounds : There was but one of the * *Penrith* Men

* *Penrith* is a pretty Market Town, and I believe may be reckon'd the 2d Town for Wealth in the County of *Cumberland*. It is pleasantly situated on a good Soil, and was fortified on the West Side with a Royal Castle, which in the Reign of *Henry VI.* was repaired out of the Ruins of *Marburgh*, a *Danish* Temple hard by, but is now in Ruins itself. It is adorned with a handsome Church, and has a large Market-Place, where there is an Edifice of Timber, for the Use of such as resort hither to Market, garnished with Bears climbing up a ragged Staff, which was the Device of the Earls of *Warwick*. The Town is built of Red-Stone, from whence it is called *Penrith*, which in *British* signifies a *Red-Hill*, or *Head*. In the Church-Yard here, on the North-Side, are erected two large Pillars, of about five Yards Distance from each other ; it is said, they were set up in Memory of one *Sir Ewin Caerius*, in old Times a famous Warrior, of great Strength and Stature, who lived in these Parts, and killed wild Bears in the

Men that was slightly hurt; and as a Recompence for their Bravery, they got fifteen Horses and some good Arms. Lord *Kilmarnock's* Son, and one C--v--g, of *Northumberland*, and some others, having been brought up at *Lowther* School, and knowing all the Roads about the House, escap'd.

The Rebels did not stay long at *Carlisle*; for after changing the Garrison on the 20th of *December*, they continu'd their March Northward, crossing the River *Esk*, tho' very deep; but they chose rather to venture drowning (which

the Forest of *Inglewood*, which much infested the Country. He was buried here, they say, and that the rude Figures of Bears, which are in Stone, and erected two on each Side of his Grave, between the Pillars, are in Memory of his great Exploits upon those Creatures. Upon the North Outside of the Vestry in the Wall, in rude Characters, is this Writing, for a Memorandum to Posterity, *Fuit Pestis, &c. i. e.* There was a Plague *A. D.* 1598, of which there died at *Kendal* 2500; at *Richmond* 2200; at *Penrith* 2266; and at *Carlisle* 1196.

was

was the Fate of some) than stay to give the Duke Battle; so that Day the young Pretender enter'd *North-Britain*, leaving the Garrison to shift for themselves as well as they could. At his Departure, he comforted the Garrison with the Promise of a speedy relief; for as Lord *John Dummond* was landed in *Scotland* with some *French* Forces, he promis'd to return with them, and desired that they would hold out the Garrison; which they promis'd to do, to the last Extremity: For this Purpose, they having all the Cannon with them, mounted them on the Walls, and carried all the Provisions they could find, into the Castle, leaving the Inhabitants very little to subsist upon; and they could get none from the adjacent Country, as knowing, that whatever was carried into the Town would be taken from them by the Rebels: But they did not continue in this distressed Condition long; for on the 20th, the King's Infantry arrived at *Penrith*, and an advanc'd Party march'd to *Hesket*, within eight Miles of *Carlisle*; but having no Cannon that Day

Day I was sent to *Whitehaven*, to order
 the battering Cannon from thence the
 People rose in a Body and got Horses
 and Carriages ready with all Expedition:
 They were ten Pieces of Eighteen Pound-
 ers of which four were drawn by forty
 Horses of Sir *James Lowther*, Bart.
 which went along pretty briskly; but I
 saw 16 or 18 of the Country Horses to
 a Gun, and often set, the Roads being
 very soft. At my Return on the 22d,
 I found that *Carlisle* had been invested
 on the 21st by the King's Troops. Ma-
 jor-General *Bland* with St. *George's* Dra-
 goons, and 300 Men of *Bligh's* Regi-
 ment, had taken Post on the *Scotch* Side,
 with Orders to prevent any Passage over
 the Bridge upon the River *Eden*, which
 leads directly to the *Scotch* Gate: Major
Adams with 200 Foot, was posted at
Butcherby near the *English* Gate, to pre-
 vent any of the Garrison escaping that
 Way: Major *Meriac* at *Craudey*, near the
Irish Gate, with the same Orders: And
 Sir *Andrew Agnew* at the Salley Port,
 with 300 Men. All the Horse and
 Foot Guards were canton'd round the
 Town

Town at a Mile or two Distance. His Royal Highness had fix'd his Head Quarters at *Blackball*; and a great many People came out of the Country to assist the King's Army with Clubs and Staves, and such other Weapons as they had: the Game-Law forbidding the Use of Fire-Arms. The Countrymen being most of them of no Use, and their Number being about 10,000 his Royal Highness order'd them all to return Home, except a few who were employ'd in cutting Fascines for the Batteries; the Duke's Regular Forces at this Time, were about four Thousand.

Marshal *Wade* having Intelligence of what had pass'd at *Clifton*, detach'd a considerable Body of Foot to reinforce the Duke's Army, and gave such other Orders as were requisite for hastening thither the Artillery and Ammunition that was wanting to carry on the Siege; but all those Wants were supplied from *Whitehaven*. On the 26th, Part of the Cannon from thence arriv'd: The Rebel Garrison, mostly composed of *English* Recruits,

Recruits, and *Gordon* of *Glenbucket's* Men commanded by one *Hamilton*, formerly Steward to the Duke of *Gordon*, in all about 400 Men, appear'd at first to make a vigorous Defence, firing their Cannon on every Body that appear'd.

On the 28th, about Eight in the Morning, our Forces began to batter their four and seven Gun Batteries, with six Eighteen Pounders; at which the Rebel Garrison were as much surpriz'd as if they had felt the Shock of an Earthquake, wondering from whence those roaring Guns came, knowing the *English* Army brought none with them; thus we continu'd playing upon them until Mid-Afternoon, by which Time many of the Rebels Cannon were dismounted, and their Batteries put to Silence; then they retreated to their ten Gun Battery which pointed Eastward, and continu'd firing from that Time until Morning: In the Night the Rebels were much perplex'd with Cohorns that we flung into the Castle, the Sailors from *Whitehaven* assisted in working the Cannon

Cannon, so that upwards of eleven hundred Shot were fir'd that Day. We had one Man kill'd; and the Rebels 16 kill'd and wounded. On the 19th, it was found necessary to abate the Firing from the Battery for want of Shot. That Day I was sent to order two thousand Cannon Shot, Eighteen Pounders, to be made at a Furnace about twenty-four Miles Distance from the Garrison. During this Interval, the Rebels had got their Batteries repair'd, and began afresh to fire on our Battery; but in the Evening several Horses arriving at our Battery laden with Shot, his Royal Highness immediately gave Orders to renew the Fire, and that the Guns should be levell'd at the Salley-Port, where he intended the Breach should be made; at which they continu'd battering very briskly for two Hours, and rent the Walls very much.

On the Night of the 29th, his Royal Highness order'd *Belford* Major of the Train, to raise a new Battery of three Eighteen Pounders, about fifty Yards to the

the Northward of the former, which was compleated by the Morning ; but on the first Platoon of the old Battery firing, the Rebels hung out a White Flag ; whereupon the Battery ceased, and they call'd over the Walls, that they had two Hostages ready to be deliver'd at the *Englisk* Gate ; which is on the opposite Side of the Town. About this Time there was a Man taken and brought to the Duke, who produced two Letters, one directed to his Royal Highness, and the other to the Commander of the *Dutch* Troops, suppos'd to be with his Army. They were from a Person styling himself the Commander of the *French* Artillery, and the *French* Garrison that was at, or might come to *Carlisle*, who subscrib'd his Name *De Geognegan* for the Defence of the Town and Citadel ; the Contents of them were, to summon the Commander of the *Dutch*, to retire with his Troops from the *Englisk* Army, under the specious Pretence of the Capitulation of *Tournay*,

S

His

His Royal Highness's *Message* to the
Rebels at *Carlisle*, on their hanging
out a White Flag, on *Monday Morn-*
ing, December 30, 1745.

HIS Royal Highness will make no
Exchange of *Hostages* with Rebels,
and desires they will let him know (by me)
what they mean by hanging out the
White Flag.

To let the French Officer know, if
there is one in *Town*, that there are no
Dutch Troops here, but enough of the
King's Troops to chastise the Rebels, and
those who dare give them any Assistance.

Sign'd Col. CONWAY, Aid-de-
Camp to his Royal Highness.

The Answer of *John Hamilton*, to his
Royal Highness the DUKE'S *Message*
to the Rebels in *Carlisle*, Dec. 30,
1745

IN Answer to the short Note sent by
his Royal Highness Prince William
Duke of Cumberland, the Governor, in
Name

Name of himself, and all the Officers and Soldiers, Gunners, and others belonging to the Garrison, desire to know what Terms his Royal Highness will be pleased to give them upon Surrender of the City and Castle of Carlisle; and which known, his Royal Highness shall be duly acquainted with the Governor and Garrison's last, or ultimate Resolution, the White Flag being hung out on Purpose to obtain a Cessation of Arms for concluding such a Capitulation.

JOHN HAMILTON.

This was given to the Duke's Aid-de-Camp.

His Royal Highness's Declaration to the Rebels, sent by the Colonels Conway and Lord Bury, Aids-de-Camp to his Royal Highness, on receiving John Hamilton's Letter, December 30th, 1745.

ALL the Terms his Royal Highness will, or can grant to the Rebel Garrison at Carlisle, are, That they shall not
S 2 *be*

be put to the Sword, but be reserved for the King's Pleasure.

If they consent to these Conditions the Governor and Principal Officers are to deliver themselves up immediately, and the Castle, Citadel, and all the Gates of the Town are to be taken Possession of forthwith by the King's Troops; all the small Arms are to be lodg'd in the Town Guard Room, and the rest of the Garrison are to retire to the Cathedral, where a Guard is to be plac'd over them. No Damage is to be done to the Artillery, Arms, and Ammunition.

By his Royal Highness's Command,

RICHMOND, LENOX, AUBIGNY.

Lieutenant General of the King's Forces.

Head Quarters at *Blackball*,
Dec. 30. half an Hour past
Two in the Afternoon.

The

The Rebels Answer to the Terms offered them by his Royal Highness the Duke of CUMBERLAND, December 30th, 1745.

THE Governor of Carlisle, and all the Officers composing the Garrison, agree to the Terms of Capitulation given in, and subscribed by Order of his Royal Highness, by his Grace the Duke of Richmond, Lenox, and Aubigny, Lieutenant General of his Majesty's Forces, recommending themselves to his Royal Highness's Clemency, and that his Royal Highness will be pleased to interpose for them with his Majesty; and that the Officers Cloaths and Baggage may be safe, with a competent Time to be allowed to the Citizens of Carlisle, to remove their Beds and bed-Cloaths, and other Household Furniture impressed from them for the Use of the Garrison in the Castle.

Dec. 30, 1745, at Three
o' Clock in the Afternoon.

After the Capitulation was agreed upon, Brigadier *Bligh* immediately took Possession of the Town with a Detachment of 400 Guards, 700 Foot, and 120 Horse. The Officers yielded themselves Prisoners immediately, and their Men laid down their Arms in the Market-Place, and retir'd into the Cathedral; so that they defiled the Temple, which use to be the House of Prayer, but was now become a Den of Thieves, where a Guard was set 'till his Royal Highness could otherwise dispose of them. Such was the Issue of this wild Undertaking; and so soon were those who pretended to defend the Place to the last Extremity, reduc'd to surrender it and themselves Prisoners at Discretion.



*A LIST of the Rebel Officers, &c.
taken at Carlisle.*

<i>Engli^h.</i>	<i>Scots.</i>	<i>French.</i>
Colonel 1	Governor 1	Officers 3
Captains 5	Surgeon 1	Serjeant 1
Lieuten. 6	Captains 2	Priv. Men 4
Ensigns 7	Lieut 7	Total 8
Chaplain 1	Ensigns 3	
Adjutant 1		
Non-Com- mission Of- ficers & pri- vate Men 93	Non - Com- mission Of- ficers & pri- vate Men 256	<i>Engli^{sh}</i> 114 <i>Scots</i> 274 <i>French</i> 8
Total 114	Total 274	In all 396

Artillery. Brass one and a half Pounders with Carriages 6; Brass Octagon with Carriage 1; Brass four Pounders with Carriages 3; Brass Cohorns 4; Royals 2. In all 16.

Of the above-mention'd Prisoners there were seven that had deserted from the King's Army at *Preston-Pans*, and joined

ed the Rebels; who, with four others of the same Sort, were hang'd at *Harriby*.

At the entering of *Carlisle*, I got a Basket-hilted Back-Sword of curious Workmanship; I suppose made in *France* for one of the Rebel Chiefs: The Basket-Hilt close and well wrought, only for a small Hand; the Blade in Proportion was light, well mounted, and gilt, with the Pretender's Effigy engraven on it, holding a Globe in one Hand, and a Scepter in the other, with this Inscription,

Long Live King JAMES the III, of *Great Britain*.

And on the other Side was,

With this good Sword thy Cause I will maintain:
And for thy sake, O JAMES, will breath each Vein.

Although the whole was a Piece of neat Work, yet I had no Fancy to wear it on Account of its Motto.

On the first of *January*, his Royal Highness entered *Carlisle* with all his Army,

Army, which fill'd the Town very full, but did not continue so long; for the next Day the *Liverpool Blues* and some other Regiments began to march off: I had very good Quarters at the *George*, which I much wanted for some Time past, not having been in Bed, nor my Boots off all the Time that we lay before *Carlisle*; and as we had bad Weather, the Army in General was very much fatigu'd with following the Rebels

It may be expected that I should give the Names of the Officers taken at *Carlisle*.

English Rebel Officers of the Manchester Regiment,

Colonel. *Francis Townley*, of *Lancashire*.

Captains. *Peter Moss*, *James Dawson*, and *George Fletcher*, of *Lancashire*, *John Saunderson*, of *Northumberland*, and *Andrew Bloor*, of *Yorkshire*.

Lieut.

Lieutenants. *Thomas Deacon, Robert Deacon, John Berwick, John Holker, and Thomas Chadwick, of Lancashire, and Thomas Furnival, of Cheshire.*

Ensigns. *Charles Deacon, of Lancashire, Charles Taylor, James Wielding, John Betts, and William Bradshaw, of Northumberland, and Samuel Madox, of Cheshire.*

Thomas Coppock, of Lancashire, made by the Pretender Bishop of Carlisle; but he did not continue long in his Bishoprick, and was the first of his Function that I ever knew to be hang'd.

EPITAPH, on his Grace the Mock Bishop.

BENEATH this Stone a Bishop Lies,

In sure and certain Hope,

Who did by curs'd Rebellion Rise;

But fell by Hempen-Rope.

Ah! *Tom* thy Politick did fail,

When first thou did aspire:

Thy Splendid Palace prov'd a Goal,

And Brother Rogues thy Choir.

Thy Golden Keys were stole be sure,

Which made this wild mistake:

Instead of op'ning Heav'n's door,

Did thee a Prisoner make;

Thy

Thy Mitre's heavier far than Lead,
 Ah! who thy Fate can alter ;
 They press'd thy proud presumptuous Head,
 Thy Garter prov'd a Halter ;
 Then say of him, there lies a Fool ,
 Altho' Bishop was his Stile ;
 The first so made by *Burband's* Tool,
 In this our *British* Isle ;
 Hence *Chevalier* stay thy Hand,
 From granting such Promotions,
 Unless thy Prelates firmer Stand :
 To Functions and Devotions.

Adjutant. *Thomas Sydall*, of *Lancashire*, Son to the famous *Tom Sydall*, a Mob Captain who was Prisoner in *Lancashire* Goal, for the Riot at *Manchester*, when the Presbyterian-House was pulled down at the Time of Rebellion in the Year 1715, and set at Liberty by the Rebels; he was afterwards taken at *Preston*, and his Head became an Ornament for the Top of a Gibbet at *Manchester*; as that of his Son *Tom Sydall* (with *Thomas Deacon's*) is now to the Exchange, for being concerned in the late Rebellion; at which, it is said, his Wife can look up with seeming Satisfaction, and say, *She has another Tom Sydall growing up against the next Rebellion.*

Scots

Scots *R E B E L* Officers.

Governor. *John Hamilton.*

Captains *Robert Forbes*, in *Gordon's* Regiment, *John Burnet*, in *Grant's*, of *Aberdeenshire*, *George Abernethy*, in *Ogilvie's* of *Bamffshire* *Donald M'Donald*, in *Keppoch's* of *Invernessshire* *John Comer*, in *Athol's* of the *Braes of Athol*.

Lieutenants. *Charles Gordon*, in *Ogilvie's*, *James Gordon*, in *Grant's*, of *Aberdeenshire*, *Walter Ogilvie*, in *Gordon's*, *William Stewart*, in *Roy Stewart's* of *Bamffshire*, *Alexander McGrouther*, *James Nicholson*, in *Perth's* of *Perthshire*.

Ensigns. *Walter Mitchell* *George Ramsey*, in *Perth's*, of *Aberdeenshire*, *James Menzie*, of *St Germain's* in *France*, in *Roy Stewart's*.

James Stratton, of *Berwickshire*, Surgeon to the Garrison.

Doctor

Doctor *Abernethy*, near *Bumff*. --- I was at his House, when on our March to the Highlands, of whom I shall give an Account in its proper Place.

French OFFICERS.

Sir *Francis Groguegan*, of *Thoulouse*, Captain in *Lally's* Regiment.

Sir *John Arbuthnot*, of *ditto*, Captain in *Drummond's*.

—— *Strickland*, of *ditto*, Colonel in no Regiment.

Pierre La Lecke, of *Diepe*, Serjeant in *Lally's*.

Francis Carpentier, of *ditto*.

Jean Poussin, of *ditto*.

Pierre Vickman, of *ditto*.

Pierre Bourgoigne, of *Tourant*.

After his Royal Highness had given such Orders, and dispos'd of all Things as he judg'd most proper, leaving the Command to General *Hawley*, he set out from *Carlisle*, on *Thursday* the Third of *January*, and was at *London* on the *Sunday* following.

On the 3d there was an Accident happen'd at the House of Mr Himor, in *Carlisle*. A Box, in which was some Gunpowder, being laid in a lower Room Window, near some Grenado Shells ready fill'd, and a Case of Pistols, together with some Muskets in the same Room; it being in the House where the Recorder kept his Office, there was a great Resort of People to it, getting their Passports signed; when a Boy accidentally happening to snap one of the Pistols, it went off, and fired the Grenado Shells, Powder Box, Pistols and Muskets, which all flew off at once. By the Explosion, the Window and one Man were blown quite into the Street. This caus'd a great Surprise and Confusion, the Occasion not being known; the Guards stood to their Arms, and the House being all in a Smoak, such as could find the Way to the Door came out with their Hair singed; yet it is very remarkable their was no body kill'd.

Before

Before I follow the Rebels into *Scotland*, I think it proper to return to *London* (having already mention'd what has been done for the Defence of the Government, in several different Towns and Places; and to note by the Way, that the Coasts were well secured against the threatned Invasion from *France*, by the Vigilance and Activity of our Sea Commanders) to shew what was doing in that great Metropolis.

His Majesty having resolv'd to form an Army near *London*, to be ready upon any Emergency that might happen; Orders were issu'd *December* the Fourth, for the Regiments of *Scots* Highlanders, and some other Regiments of Horse and Foot, that were quarter'd about *Deptford*, in *Kent*, to March to *Winchley-Common* to encamp there. A few Days after, a Train of 32 Pieces of Cannon, with Carriages, Powder-Waggons, &c. were drawn out of the Tower and twenty-four Chests of Arms were sent from the same Place for the Use of the Army, which his Majesty was deter-

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min'd

min'd to command in Person ; but upon Advice that the Rebels were retreated out of *England*, and that there were Grounds to apprehend an Invasion in the South and South-East Part of the Kingdom, the forming a Camp on *Finchley-Common* was countermanded, the Artillery carried back into the Tower, and the Forces which were canton'd at *Barnet*, and in the neighbouring Towns and Villages, were order'd into *Kent* and *Sussex*.

On the 7th, a great Number of Sailors attended at the Admiralty, in Consequence of the Intimation that they had that Day receiv'd, that their Country stood in Need of their immediate Service, and enter'd themselves with remarkable Chearfulness and Alacrity : they were order'd on board several Privateers and small Vessels lying in the River, which were taken into the Service of the Government, and were to sail directly to prevent the Landing of the *French* Troops, said to be actually embark'd at *Ostena* and *Dunkirk*. Signals were order'd

der'd to be plac'd on the *Sussex*, *Kentish*, and *Essex* Coasts, by hoisting Flags in the Day, and firing Guns in the Night, by which Means Notice of an Invasion would be at the *Tower* and *St. James's Park* in a few Hours. All the Life-Guards and Horse-Grenadiers were order'd to be ready at the firing of some Guns, which were to be as a Signal. Orders were sent by the Lords of the Admiralty to all Commanders of Ships in the River, not to fire a Gun upon any Account, that the Signal-Guns might be the more plainly heard, in Case of any Invasion or Insurrection. Three Thousand Foot and One Thousand Horse were order'd for the Coasts of *Essex* and *Sussex*, and Four Thousand Foot and One Thousand Five Hundred Horse for the Coasts of *Kent* and *Sussex*, in order to be ready to oppose any foreign Invasion. All the Forts and Castles in the Kingdom were order'd to be doubly garrison'd, and a Magazine of Arms to be establish'd in each of the Forts or Castles, in order to obviate the Inconvenience and Danger of waiting for Arms

from the *Tower of London*, upon any sudden Emergency.

The Lord-Mayor and Court of Lieutenancy of *London* order'd, " That
 " whereas his Majesty had been pleas'd
 " to direct, that Alarm-Posts should be
 " appointed, and proper Signals to give
 " Notice to the Guards to march on the
 " first Notice of any Tumult or Intur-
 " rection in the Cities of *London* or
 " *Westminster*; and that the said Signals
 " should be seven Cannon, one fir'd
 " every half Minute from the *Tower*,
 " to be answer'd from *St James's Park*,
 " and *vice versa*, every Officer and
 " Soldier in the Six Regiments of Militia
 " without waiting for Beat of Drum,
 " or any other Notice, do immediately,
 " on hearing the said Signals, repair
 " with their Arms, and the usual Quan-
 " tity of Powder and Ball, to their re-
 " spective Rendezvous; the Red Regi-
 " ment upon *Tower-Hill*, the Green in
 " *Guild-Hall-Yard*, the Yellow in *St.*
 " *Paul's Church-Yard*, the White at
 " the *Royal Exchange*, the Blue in old
 " *Fish-*

“ *Fife-Street*, and the Orange Regiment
 “ in *West-Smithfield*.“ The two Regi-
 ments of Tower Hamlets had also the
 like Orders; the First to meet on *Tower-
 Hill*, and the Second in *Sun-Tavern
 Fields, Shadwell*.

The Veteran Scheme was now in high
 Esteem, as well for the Benevolence and
 Humanity in the Design of it, as for the
 actual Service it did the Common Cause,
 by animating and encouraging the Sol-
 diers to fight bravely for their Country,
 that large Sums were daily enter'd into
 the Subscription-Books, which were
 open'd the 27th of *November*, in the
 Chamberlain's Office at *Guilabill*. His
 Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales* sent
 the Gentlemen who were the Managers,
 a Bank Note of 600 l. the Lord Chief
 Justice *Lee*, the Master of the Rolls, and
 the Judges subscribed 1200 l. the Cham-
 ber of *London* 1000 l. the Gentlemen of
 the City of *London* paid in 523 l. 19 s.
 the Body of Civilians in *Doctor's Com-
 mons* 500 l. the *Drapers Company* 300 l.
 the *Fishmongers Company* 300 l. and se-
 veral

ver 1 other Companies 100 l. each, besides Abundance of other Donations both publick and private, that were continually sent in, and subscrib'd to the said Scheme; so that the Managers were enabled to furnish the Soldiers with all the Necessaries they had Occasion for, to defend them against the Hardships and Inconveniencies of a Winter Campaign, and the Severities of the Northern Climate.

The 10th of *December*, at a general Meeting of the Subscribers to the Subscription rais'd for the better Support and Encouragement of the Soldiers during the Winter Season, towards the Suppression of the Rebellion, a Committee of the principal Subscribers was chosen, for the Disposal of the Money arising from such Subscription; the Proceedings being communicated to his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland* and Marshal *Wade*, desiring their Opinions how the Money should be best applied, who unanimously resolv'd, that they should contract for 12,000 Pair of Breeches,

12,000

12,000 Sheets, 10,000 Woollen Caps, 10,000 Pair of Woollen Stockings, 12,000 Pair of knit Woollen Gloves, 9000 Pair of Woollen Spatterdashes, and 1000 Blankets, to be immediately provided and sent to the Army; and likewise resolved that the Sum of 5000^l. Part of the said Subscription Money already raised, be set a-part for the rewarding of such Soldiers as should be maim'd or wounded in the Service; and that the further Sum of 300^l. be applied as *Marshal Wade* should direct, for the more speedy Recovery of the sick Soldiers under his Command, in Augmentation of the Allowance granted by the Crown on that Behalf.

At this Time the Stage-Players were not wanting in their Contribution towards the Soldiers; the whole Amount of three Nights acting the *Beggars's Opera*, propos'd by *Mrs Gibben*, who acted *Polly* gratis, making 600^l was, on the 10th of *December*, paid into the Chamber of *London*, by *Mr Rich*, for the Encouragement of the Soldiers: Every Comedian

Comedian play'd gratis, and Tallow-
Chandlers gave the Candles.

At which Time the following

PROLOGUE was spoken.

MEtinks, I see *Britannia's* Genius here,
Who smiles to find her Guardian Sons your
Whilst every Heart with Indignation glows, (Care
Warin'd with the Sense of injur'd *Britain's* Woes.

If aught be glorious in a Soldier's Name,
To your Affections now, how just his Claim!
For you his unremitted Zeal defies,
The changeful Season, and the inclement Skies:
With painful Steps the tedious March endures,
And gives his own Repose to purchase yours,
Conscience how much we to their Valour owe,
Let us with usual Warmth united shew
Ingratitude's a Crime we dare not know.

Flush'd with Success these lawless Vagrants come,
From *France* their Maxims, and their Gods from
Rome.

Russians who fight not in fair Honour's Cause,
For injur'd Rights, or violated Laws;
But like the Savage Race they roam for Prey,
And where they pass destruction marks their Way.

O! thou who dost o'er human Acts preside,
If *Britain* is thy Care be *WILLIAM's* Guide;
The noble Youth, whom ev'ry Eye approves,
Each Tongue applauds and ev'ry Soldier loves;

In

In the dire Conflict may thy Power afford
Strength to his Arm, and Vict'ry to his Sword;
On Freedom's Basis may he sit the Throne,
And add new Lustre to his Father's Crown.

Whilst the Rebels were doing the
Business of the French in the North,
vast Preparation were still making on
the Coast of France and French Flanders,
for invading the Kingdom; and the
Informations which the Government
receiv'd of their Embarkations, parti-
cularly at Dunkirk, induc'd his Majesty
to give such Directions as were necessary
for appointing proper Alarm-Posts, at
which the Troops were to assemble, and
such Signals as I have already observ'd.
And at the same Time a Proclamation
was issu'd, commanding all Officers,
Civil and Military, to cause the Coasts to
be carefully watch'd; and upon the
first Approach of the Enemy to direct all
Horses, Oxen, Cattle, and other Provi-
sions to be driven and remov'd twenty
Miles from the Place where the Enemy
should attempt to land; and such Regi-
ments of regular Troops as were at that
Time quarter'd, as I have said, in and
about

about *London*, were order'd down to the Coasts of *Kent*, *Sussex*, &c. These timely Precautions, join'd to the Zeal and Spirit shewn by the Gentlemen, Clergy, and other Inhabitants of the Maritime Counties had so good an Effect, together with the Officers of his Majesty's Navy, who serv'd on board the Squadron then in the Channel, that the Designs of the *French*, were totally defeated notwithstanding they frequently chang'd their Schemes, which serv'd only to fatigue their Troops and to distress their Subjects to the last Degree, by ruining the little Trade still left in that Kingdom.

As Lord *John Drummond* Lord *Lewis Gordon*, and the rest of the Rebel Chiefs in *Scotland*, where all this Time labouring with great Diligence, as well as much Violence, to draw together a considerable Force, in order to join the Pretender on his Return into that Country, the King's loyal Subjects there shew'd the greatest Zeal and Spirit, in exerting their utmost Force, in order to oppose them.

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The City of *Glasgow* particularly distinguish'd itself upon this Occasion, by levying fifteen Companies of 60 Men each at their own Expence ; and having completed them about the 1st of *December*, they march'd from thence under the Command of the Right Hon the Earl of *Hume* for *Sterling*. The City of *Edinburgh* also having receiv'd his Majesty's License for that Purpose, rais'd 1000 Men for the King's Service ; and the Earl of *London*, with the Forces under his Command, by marching from *Inverness*, oblig'd a Body of the Rebels to raise the Blockade of *Fort-Augustus*, which they had form'd under the Command of the Son of Lord *Lovat* ; and at the same Time the *Macleods* and *Munroes* scour'd all the North of the Rebels as far as to within 12 Miles of *Aberdeen*. Such were the Transactions in *South* and *North-Britain* to the Close of the Year. But I proceed to give an Account of the Rebels from their Retreat out of *England* to their besieging *Sterling-Castle*.

On the 20th of *December*, after the Rebels had pass'd the *Esk*, they divided into two Bodies; the lesser, consisting of about 2000 Men, march'd to *Ecclefeckon*, where they staid all Night, and the next Day march'd to *Moffat*; the larger Body of about 4000, proceeded to *Annan*, where they staid all Night, except 500, who continu'd their March towards *Dumfries*: The Report having reach'd thither of the Defeat of the Rebels near *Lancaster*, the Inhabitants of *Dumfries* being mostly very loyal People, were preparing to fall upon the dispers'd Rebels, as they had done at *Kendal* and *Penrith*; but to their Loïs, they found that instead of a few Stragglers which they expected on the 21st, the Body of 4000 march'd into *Dumfries*, where they lodg'd until *Monday* the 23d, and impos'd a Contribution on the Town of 2000*l.* Sterling, to be paid directly; although this was remonstrated against as a Thing not only hard, but impracticable, yet it was peremptorily insisted on; but at last, 1100*l.* was accepted in Ready Money; they took Mr
Riddel

Riddel and *Mr Crooby*, as Hostages for the Payment of the Remainder. The Rebels also insisted on 1000 Pair of Shoes, paid nothing for their Quarters; and at their marching off, order'd their Baggage to be sent after them; and if any Person durst presume to molest any of their Stragglers, the Hostages should suffer for the Fault.

They continu'd their March from *Drumlanerig* to *Glasgow*, at which City they arriv'd on the 25th, they being but a very indifferent *Christmas-Box* to the Inhabitants, and many of them got it on the Side of their Head. In the mean Time, the Northern Rebels were moving towards *Pexth*, under Lord *John Drummond*, Lord *Lewis Gordon*, the Master of *Lovat*, and some other Chiefs; so that now it appear'd plainly their Design was to collect all their Strength upon the *Forth*, in order to besiege *Sterling Castle*. This Body of the Rebels had some Artillery, Ammunition and Money with them, which had been landed from on board some *Spanish Privateers* and brought

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from

from the West-Coast to *Perth*, which they had fortified for a Place of Arms; they fitted out an arm'd Sloop there, as they did the *Hazard*, which they had taken, and a stout Privateer at *Mon-trose*.

The main Body of the Rebels continu'd several Days at *Glasgow*, to the Sorrow of the Inhabitants of that City: It is natural to imagine that the Condition of these People must be remarkably unhappy, as having the Enemy within their Walls, and many Circumstances attending their Situation, capable of filling them with very afflicting Apprehensions; for in the first Place, this City had been always consider'd as the Headquarters of the Whigs in the Reigns of *Charles* and *James II.* and was thereby expos'd to very indifferent Treatment; in the next, it has been always since the Revolution, and more especially since the Union, the best affected Place in *North-Britain* to our Establishment; and lastly even since the breaking out of the late Rebellion, they had not only shewn the

the greatest Loyalty to the Government, in raising a Regiment for its Service, but had also march'd them to *Edinburgh*, (and thereby left themselves defenceless) for fear that the Rebels should force them to disband it: Such was the state of this Place at this critical Juncture, when the Mock Prince enter'd it at the Head of his Forces and thereby had the Inhabitants at his Mercy. But, no Doubt, they were sensible of their Danger, yet they did nothing contrary to their Duty to deliver themselves: On the contrary, they shew'd very visible Signs of terror and Sadneſs; and the Chevalier, though he often appear'd in Publick, was scarce attended so much as by the Mob. It is not at all strange, that the Behaviour of the Rebels, all things consider'd, should be worse at *Glasgow* than at other Places; but so it was; they found themselves in a very rich City, abounding in whatever they wanted; and therefore they consider'd it as a Magazine, and began to furnish themselves with Broad-Cloth, Tartan, Shoes, Stockings, and Bonnets, to the Amount of 10,000 l. Sterling; so

that by this Means the Pretender in a Manner new-cloath'd his Army, which prov'd a great Means of keeping them together; otherwise it is to be suppos'd, many of them would have deserted.

On the 3d of *January*, having finish'd their Business at *Glasgow*, glan'd up what they could, and enlisted about 60 Recruits, then it was judg'd Time to remove, and accordingly they march'd that Day to *Kilsyth*. The Pretender's Son lay at Mr *Cimphel's*, of *Shawfield*, near *Kilsyth*; order'd his Steward to provide every Thing, and promis'd Payment; but next Morning told him, that the Bill should be allowed to his Master at accounting for the Rents of *Kilsyth*, it being a forfeited Estate. The next Day they proceeded to *Bannockburn*, and on the 5th, having most Part of their Forces together, they summon'd the Town and Castle of *Stirling* to surrender; but General *Blakeney* answer'd, That he would defend the Place to the last Extremity; for as he had liv'd, he was determin'd to die a Man of Honour.

Thus

Thus I have given you a Journal of the Rebels Proceedings, from their leaving *North-Britain* to *Derby*, and Back again; only it is to be observ'd in general, that the *Roman Catholics* and *Jacobites* were very officious in throwing themselves in their Way. In the Towns and Villages as they march'd through, making low Bows; but the Rebels quite out-did them in Complaisance, for they stoop'd even to their Feet, and stripp'd them of their Shoes, so that they left many of their Friends and others Bare-foot; and of Complaint was made to their Officers, their Answer was, *If the Men want Shoes, i. e. Shoes they must have them.* The Town of *Stirling* is of no great Strength; for after some Time spent in Treaty, it surrender'd, and the Rebels enter'd it on the 8th; when having again summon'd the Castle to as little Purpose as before, they took a final Resolution of besieging it in Form, with what Artillery they had; and accordingly put it in Execution.

His

His Majesty having thought fit to appoint, Lieutenant-General *Hawley*, Commander in Chief of his Forces in *North-Britain*, and Major-General *Husk* to command under him, the Troops that form'd the Army in the Neighbourhood of *Edinburgh*, march'd from *Newcastle* with great Expedition, and whatever was requisite for their Use, or could contribute to facilitate their Motions, was so readily supplied them on their Route, that by the 10th it was judg'd expedient to dispose Things for advancing towards the Relief of *Sterling Castle*. In the mean Time, the Rebels were very busy in preparing to carry on the Siege

Lord *George Murray*, and Lord *John Drummond*, had been at *Alloway*, concerting how to bring over the Cannon, brought from *Perth* in Floats, and afterwards survey'd the Passage at *Cambes*, to see if it could be done more conveniently there; they also went to *Dumblain*, leaving 100 Men at *Alloway*.

Before

Before the Rebels enter'd the Town of *Sterling*, the Militia Officers, with all their Arms, went into the Castle; their Men by small Parties making their Escape. Major-General *Blackney* was well provided with Men and Provisions, resolving to hold out the Garrison. The Rebels having got all the Cannon over the *Forth*, broke Ground on the 12th, between the Church of *Sterling* and a large House call'd *Mar's Work*, and was for erecting a Battery there against the Castle: For this Purpose. five large Pieces of Cannon were lying ready in the Market-Place, and three small ones were coming from *Airth*; they also sent several Expresses to their Troops in *Perthshire*, to hasten their March towards *Sterling*, where they shot up their Ports, and planted Guards at all the Out-lets of the Town, to prevent the People from coming in for, or going out with Intelligence to the King's Troops. The main Body of the Rebels being about *Falkirk*, had Orders to march upon the 13th towards *Linlithgow*, with all the Waggon and Carts they could get together

gether, for carrying off all the Provisions they could meet with.

On the 13th, Major-General *Huske*, march'd with eight Regiments from *Edinburgh* to *Linlithgow*: On his Arrival there, the Rebels, on the 14th, march'd towards *Sterling*, to their main Body, who had got most of their Friends to the South-Side of the *Forth*, and were endeavouring to spirit up their Men to Action; the same Day they got together two Pieces of Cannon of sixteen Pounders, two of eight, and three of three Pounders, and expected four more by Water, for their Battery in the Town: They had also great Number of Fascines, but had not been able to plant their Cannon; General *Blackney* having fired several Times upon them from the Castle, and demolished their Works. Major General *Huske*, with the Forces under him, and the Remains of *Gardner's* and *Hamilton's* Dragoons, on the 16th, took Possession of *Falkirk*, and were joined there by 1000 *Argyleshire* Men, under the Command of Lieutenant-Colonel *Campbell*,

Campbell, and were followed soon after by General *Hawley*, with the rest of the Army and the Artillery ; early in the Morning of the 17th, *Cubham's* Dragoons came up, when it was resolv'd to march the next Morning to attack the Rebels, who, by all Accounts, lay in the Enclosures near *Torwood*, but, by the Reports of several People who were sent out to reconnoitre, they were observ'd to be in Motion early in the Morning, as they had also been on the 16th ; some reported that they had been entrenching themselves in *Torwood*, others that they seem'd inclinable to raise the Siege of *Sterling Castle* ; but many affirm'd that they meant to advance and meet the King's Troops, who lay encamped on a Spot of low Ground, a Quarter of a Mile South-West of *Falkirk*. The Rebel Army had been encamped on *Plene-Moor*, to the Westward of *Torwood*, about three Miles Distance from one another : They decamp'd in the Morning, marching Eastward ; because the Wind was South-West, they then march'd to the South of *Torwood*,
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in order to get the Windward. At this Distance it is easy to say, Care should have been taken to obtain better Intelligence, but let us remember, that if an Enemy be irresolute (as was the Case) no certain Intelligence can be obtain'd.

Lieutenant General *Hawley*, having consider'd the Situation of Affairs, and the several Accounts receiv'd, resolv'd to defer attacking the Rebels until the next Day, as well in regard to the Foulness of the Weather, as because he was desirous of obtaining such Intelligence as might enable him to make the most advantageous Dispositions for acting against them with his Cavalry and Artillery; Some Dragoons that had been sent to re-connoitre, returned about Noon, with Intelligence that the Rebels were actually in Motion, in order to attack the King's Forces; and by One in the Afternoon, they were seen about three Miles distance marching in two Columns towards some rising Ground to the Southward, upon a Moor near *Falkirk*; upon which our Troops got under Arms, and form'd immediately

immediately in the Front of the Camp, and bent their March towards the same Ground, to which it was apprehended the Rebels were going, being a large Mine to the Left of the Camp; no sooner were the Troops got thither, but they saw the Rebels moving up, their Right extending Southward; but as there was a Morass, or Boggy-Ground, upon our Left, we could not stretch so far as they; so that their Left was almost opposite to our Center. Our Foot were form'd in two Lines, Part upon Plain Ground, and the rest declining; our Dragoons were on the Left Flank with General Hawley: Major General Haskie commanded on the Right. In this Disposition we mov'd forwards, having the Morass on our Left: the Dragoons were order'd to advance about fifty Paces before the Front-Line and attack the Rebels Sword in Hand, to give the Left Time to form, and the Lines to advance. The Dragoons attack'd most gallantly, and receiv'd the Rebels Fire, which disorder'd some of the Horses, and they broke upon our Foot, who fired

fired too soon, by which some of the Dragoons were unfaddled; in this Confusion, some of the Dragoons rode quite off from the field of Battle, and did not stop till they got near *Linlithgow*; on which it was reported that they were all that had escap'd from the Battle: This Disorder occasioned our two Lines: of Foot to give Way and many of them went off: But this Misfortune, which at first looked like a lost Battle, was quickly recover'd; the Dragoons bravely returned to the Charge, and retrieved their Honour; *Barrel's* and *Ligonier's* were immediately rallied by Brigadier *Cholmondeley*, and being afterwards attack'd by a Body of Rebels twenty deep, fairly drove them back, and put them to Flight. At this Time a Body of Foot, by the Care of Major-General *Huske*, form'd in the Rear of these two Regiments, which the Rebels seeing, durst not advance; and about the same Time Brigadier *Mordaunt* rallied the Remains of the scatter'd Battalions into their several Corps, in which he was assisted by the Officers; it was then four o'Clock

o'Clock in the Afternoon when it rain'd heavily and blew hard, which, in a great Measure, was the Cause of our Misfortunes, for our Men could not see before them, and consequently the Rebels had the Advantage of us greatly in that Particular : Besides, as it rain'd hard before, many of the Firelocks were so wet, that it is believ'd not above one in five, that were attempted to be fired, went off. Our Loss was but small, not exceeding 300 Men; and it was believ'd the Rebels lost three Times that Number. It was a Misfortune we could not get up our Artillery to us; for it rain'd so heavily in the Night, and having a steep Hill to ascend, and the Horses but bad, they could not get forward; and when we return'd to our Camp, we found the Captain of the Train had abandon'd it, and the Drivers run off with their Horses; which oblig'd us to leave some Pieces of Cannon behind : The Grenadiers of *Barrel's* Regiment drew down one to the Camp, and Horses were got at *Falkirk* to bring off three others. The Evening being

excessive rainy, it was thought proper to march the Troops to *Linlithgow* that Night, and put them under Cover ; otherwise we should have continu'd in our Camp, being Masters of the Field of Battle ; and Brigadier *Mordaunt* was order'd to take Post there. When we came to strike the Tents, and finding that many of the Drivers had run off with their Horses ; immediately the General gave Orders that what Tents were left should be burnt, which was accordingly done.

During the Time the Army was on its March to meet the Rebels, a Body of them, with some Colours, pass'd the River *Carran*, towards the Right of the Camp, with a Design, I suppose, to attack it ; but the *Argyleshire* Men being posted in the Front, kept them in Awe, and effectually frustrated their Intention. The *Glasgow* Regiment was posted at some Farm-Houses, where it was thought they might be of Use, when the Action began, and remain'd form'd there, notwithstanding they saw that
the

the Dragoons, and Part of the Foot, had given Way.

I have also to add, that it had been resolv'd that the Army should remain at *Linnithgow*, whither it had retired on the 17th at Night ; but upon Examination, it was found that the Troops had no Powder that would take Fire, from the excessive Rains for Twenty-four Hours before ; and therefore a Resolution was taken upon the 19th in the Morning to march to *Edinburgh* and the Places adjacent, where the Whole Army arriv'd that Afternoon, about Four o'Clock.

The Abandoning the Camp, and the Loss of the Cannon, look'd so like a Defeat, that it gave the *Jacobites* a Handle to vaunt, as if the Rebels had got the Victory ; whereas they were indeed beat by a handful of Men, and fled shamefully. The Facts are true, that the Camp was abandon'd and the Cannon lost ; but the first was done with Judgment, and preserv'd the Men, who must have

lain upon their Arms all Night, which was so rainy and stormy that they were wet to the Skin had no Provisions, and would have been subject to continual Alarms all Night ; and the last was occasioned by the Mi-behaviour of the Officer who had the Charge of the Train, who finding that he was to be tried by a Court-Martial, cut an Artery in his Arm endeavouring to make his Escape, by going out of the World in that Way, but was prevented and disgraced. On the Whole the Rebels have neither gain'd Honour nor Advantage by an Action, in which two Regiments, with Part of the Old Buffs, and some others rallied by Major-General *Huske*, in all making not above four Regiments, the Dragoons excepted, fairly drove them out of that Field, which they enter'd with so promising a Prospect ; and in the End, General *Hawley* drew off his Men, and retreated in good Order to his Camp at *Falkirk* : The Enemy did not venture to pursue them, which was greatly owing to the gallant Behaviour of two Squadrons of *Cobham's* Dragoons,

goons, and four Battalions of the Right Wing, which compos'd the Rear-Guard, under the Command of Major-General *Huske*.

Sir *Robert Monroe* was wounded and afterwards taken Prisoner, together with his Brother; the latter was a Surgeon and an eminent Man in his Profession, who attended Sir *Robert* to the Field, merely out of brotherly Affection; both of which, at the same Time, the Rebels murdered in cold Blood. There was no Account of the kill'd and Wounded publish'd by Authority: The Officers in general distinguish'd themselves extremely, and some very particularly, such as Brigadier-General *Cholmondeley* who was dangerously wounded, and contracted a Palsy from the Cold he caught in the Field; Major-General *Husk*, by his great Vigilance and Presence of Mind shewn on this Occasion, acquir'd the highest Reputation; and Brigadier *Mordaunt* was allowed to have done all that could be expected from the most knowing and experienc'd Officer: It is but also just to

to the Memory of Colonel *Ligonier*, to mention, that although he was in a bad State of Health for which he was blood-ed and blister'd, yet he could not be restrain'd from leading his Men to the Field of Battle, where he got wet to the Skin, by which he contracted a violent Cold and Quinsey, and died thereof; Nay, even in the Battalions, where the Men did not behave well as might be expected, their Officers shew'd themselves to the greatest Advantage, and gave glorious Example of Intrepidity, though they were but ill copied; this made the Loss fall heavier amongst them, in Proportion, than has been on the like Occasions. I have endeavour'd to calculate the following List of Officers kill'd, &c. from the best Accounts I could then procure.



A LIST

*A LIST of the OFFICERS kill'd,
wounded, and taken Prisoners, at the
Battle of Falkirk, Jan. 17, 1745-6.*

DRAGOONS. FOOT.

Lieut. Col. Whitney,	<i>Blakeney's.</i>
Cornets Monk and Crow.	Captains. Tod, Kellet, Dalrymple and Edmondson.

Hamilton's.
Cornet Smith.

Monroe's.
Colonel Sir Robert Monroe.

Lieut. Col. Biggar.
Capt. Hall, Fitzgerald, Witherall, and Mr Monroe, Sir Robert's Brother.

Wolfe's.
Captains. Dallons,

Lieut. Fairfield.
Garing, Hamilton, Launders, and Hele.
Lieut. Kirkson.

Howard's.
Captains. Osrepo, and Hacket.

Cholmondley's.
Lieut. Col. Powell.

Major *Lockhart* was made Prisoner, and carried away to the Highlands, but join'd the King's Army at *Aberdeen*, after having

having made his Escape, and brought off Prisoner the Rebel Officer that guarded him.

William Thornton, Esq; of Cattal, in Yorkshire, maintain'd a Company at his own Expence, march'd them to the Battle of *Falkirk*, where he distinguish'd himself very gallantly. --- I wish I could say that he met with that Respect due to his great Merit. An Officer in the Establishment, behaving well, is Praiseworthy, yet he only does his Duty: But a Volunteer that ventures his Life and Fortune in Defence of the Government, in Times of the most imminent Danger and Difficulty, deserves to be had in the highest Esteem, by all true Lovers of our happy Constitution. — Captain *Thornton* and his Men suffer'd much at the Battle of *Falkirk*, many of them being taken Prisoners; of twenty that were in Jeopardy, he only, with Difficulty, escaped. As this Action proved fatal to so many Officers, it proved as fortunate to a great many others; for the Rebels having sent most of the Officers

ficers that were taken Prisoners at *Pre-
 ston-Pans* to *Glames, Coupar, and Leslie*,
 when they were drawing together their
 Forces about *Stirling*, the loyal Inhabi-
 tants of *Dundee*, and other Places, form-
 ed a Design of rescuing them, and con-
 ducted them back to *Edinburgh*, which
 they executed with great Spirit and Di-
 ligence; and they accordingly arrived at
 that City on the 19th. the very Day af-
 ter the Army returned thither from *Lin-
 lthgow*.— The releasing of those Offi-
 cers at this Juncture, was a very reason-
 able Service, as it visibly preserved them
 from being hurried by the Rebels in the
 No t 1, as would undoubtedly have been
 the Case, if they had remained Prisoners
 but a few Days longer: It was likewise
 a full Proof of the steady Loyalty and
 sincere Attachment to the Government,
 of those who undertook to rescue them,
 since they did it at a Time when the Re-
 bels were flush'd with their late Advan-
 tage; but the Consequence of the thing
 will best appear, by giving the Reader
 an Account of the Persons that were
 thus set at Liberty.

*A LIST of the OFFICERS retaken
from the Rebels, by the Militia of the
Shire of Angus.*

<i>Legonier's Dragoons</i>	Ensigns.
Quarter-Masters.	Sutherland, Lush,
Wist, and Young.	and Bruce.

<i>Cockran's Marines.</i>	<i>Lascelle's Foot.</i>
Lt. Col. Whiteford	Major Severn.

<i>Guise's Foot</i>	Barlow, Ander-
Lieutenant Patton	ton, Corbet, and
Ensign Wakeman.	Forrester.

<i>Lee's Foot.</i>	Ensigns.
Captain-Lieutenant	Cox, and Gouiton.
Kennedy	
Ensign Archer.	<i>London's Foot.</i>

<i>Murray's Foot.</i>	Capt. Monroe.
Major Talbot.	Capt. Lt. M'Nab.
Capt. Leisle.	Lieut. Read.
Lieutenants Wall	Ensigns.
and Rae.	Grant, M'Lagan,
	M'Ray, and
	Campell.

When

When the News of the Battle reached *London*, it made it necessary to provide for the immediate Extinction of so dangerous a Flame, by sending down a sufficient Number of Forces, not only to render the Army in *Scotland* more formidable than before, but to encrease its strength to such a Degree, as to free the Nation from any Apprehensions of its Consequences, in Case the Enemy should grow more numerous, or the *French* or *Spaniards* persist in their design of attempting an Invasion for their Support, in any Part of his Majesty's Dominions. It was with this View that a Resolution was taken for embarking the *Hessian* Troops in *British* Pay, then in the Neighbourhood of *Antwerp*, for *Scotland*; it was also thought convenient, in order to restore the Spirit of the Soldiers, to extinguish all Animositics and encourage the well-affected in *North-Britain*, that his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland* should immediately go down thither: It is true, the embarking the *Hessians* at that Time, was in some Respect inconvenient, as the

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French

French had just discovered their Design of attacking *Brussels*; but the Necessity of restoring our internal Tranquility being confess'd, both at Home and Abroad of such high Importance to the Common Cause, as well of so singular an Import to ourselves, that it was generally approved; as the Consequences which have attended it shews, that it was undertaken upon right Motives. I might here mention some other Methods that were taken to frustrate the Designs of our Enemies, which I will omit for the present, in order to return to the Progress of the Rebels, in the Siege of *Stirling Castle*.

Soon after the Battle, the *Pr'tender's* Son returned with his Forces to *Stirling*, when the Rebels summoned the Castle to surrender in the Morning, and again in the Afternoon; but General *Blackney* answered, as before. *That as he had always been looked upon as a Man of Honour, the Rebels should find he would die so*; which they found too true in the End.

January

January the 24th, the Siege proceeded but very slowly ; the Castle had fired so often on the Men at work upon the Batteries, and with so much Exactness, that the Rebels could not get any of their own People to go near them ; for which Reason the *Irish* Brigade, and *Drummond's* Regiment from *France*, were order'd to do that Service.

On the 27th, the Rebels had got two Batteries erected, the one on *Gawan-Hill*, within forty Yards of the Castle, and the other on *Lady's-Hill*. On the 28th, they got Cannon mounted on them, consisting of two Pieces of 18 Poun-
ders, two of 16, and three of 12 Poun-
ders; and whilst this was doing, they continued to fire upon the Castle with Small-Arms, which did little or no Mischief, tho' at the same Time it exposed their Men extremely, and they suffered by the Fire of the Castle very severely, which put them more and more out of Humour with the Siege ; and what contributed to encrease their Uneasiness, was the great Want of

Provisions, which oblig'd them to send out Parties in order to carry off what Meal they could find on all Sides of the Country. The greatest Part of their Army return'd into the Neighbourhood of *Falkirk*. They sent away the Prisoners to *Down Castle* on the 24th, except the Officers; and the *Hazard Sloop*, to which they gave the Name of *Prince Charles Snow*, was refitted and sent to *France*, with the News of their Success; which they magnified in very high Terms, as appeared by the Accounts of it printed at *Paris*. The Rebels begun to be heartily tired of the Siege, they not liking to fight against Stone-Walls; although it must be owned they spared no Labour in getting thither their Cannon, though harrassed all the Time by the *Vulture Sloop*, and by small Craft fill'd with Soldiers, which did them considerable Damage; neither when it was brought thither and planted could they do much, their Batteries being injudiciously erected; and the Highlandmen shew'd a great Aversion for that Kind of Service, for which they are naturally unfit; and at the

the same Time the Garrison did them a great deal of Mischief, tho' they were able to do little or none to the Garrison. As it had been customary for the Rebels to deny their Mortality, General *Blake* would not permit them to bury their Dead, in order to convince them, that their Men were not invulnerable; after that about Sixty of the Rebels were killed in one Day, and exposed to View; then they were indeed convinced of their Frailty. A Drum had been sent about the Town, with Notice, that every Person that was taken near the Castle should be shot; and that if any of the Town's People entertained any Wives or Children of the Soldiers, who were in the Castle should be punished with Military Execution.

Notwithstanding all the Pains the Rebels had taken in order to carry on the Siege, yet it could scarce be said to advance all the Time they lay before it; but whether they might or not have succeeded, 'tis requisite to mention what Advantages they propos'd to themselves

by becoming Masters of this Place, and those (though they were many) might be reduced to these Three: First, it would have given them Reputation at Home and Abroad, as *Stirling* Castle is famous, and reputed a Place of greater Importance than it really is: Secondly, if they could have got this Place, and fortified *Perth*, they might have secured the Country behind them for the Winter: Thirdly, it would have afforded them Means of maintaining themselves along the Coasts, on both Sides of the Island; which would have facilitated their receiving Supplies from Abroad: But the Gallant General *Blakeney*, who still defended the Castle with so much Constancy and Courage, made the Scots Rebels quite sick of the Siege, so that their Commanders found it necessary to entrust their Works entirely to the *Irish* and *French*, who by this Means were excessively weakened and fatigued, having seven *French* Officers kill'd in one Day, which put them into great Confusion; where I shall leave them for the present, and re-assume the Progress of our Army.

After

After the necessary Preparations were made for taking the Field again, and marching a second Time to the Relief of General *Blakeny*, the Troops seem'd to be exceedingly mortified at the late Miscarriage, and shew'd an earnest Desire to repair it, by marching again to attack the Rebels; for which the necessary Preparations were made, and the Army, in a few Days was in every Respect in a better Condition, and better provided than before.

On the 30th in the Morning, to the great Surprise and Joy of the Army, his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland* arriv'd at *Edinburgh*, after a Journey amazingly expeditious, considering the Rigour of the Season.

He was receiv'd with all the Testimonies of Loyalty and Affection that could possibly be express'd, the Army looking upon his Presence as a sure Omen of Victory, and all Ranks and Degrees of People being delighted at beholding a Prince, with whose Reputation they were so well acquainted, and by whom they

they had just Reason to expect being restor'd to the peaceable Possession of those Blessings, which under the mild Government of the King his Father, they had, until the breaking out of this Rebellion, constantly enjoy'd. The Sight of the Duke banish'd all Remembrances of the late untoward Accident, and the Troops shew'd uncommon Ardour to be led (bad as the Weather was) into the Field again.

His Royal Highness review'd the Forces next Day, and march'd them in two Columns, consisting of fourteen Battalions; the *Ayleshire* Men, together with *Cobham's* Dragoons, leading the Van. He quarter'd that Night at *Lintithgow* with eight Battalions; Brigadier *Mordaunt* was at *Borrowstounness*; the Dragoons lay in adjacent Villages; and Colonel *Campbell* with his brave loyal Highland Men, took Post in the Front of the Army, towards the *Avon*. There was at this Time a considerable Body of the Rebels at *Falkirk*, who immediately retired towards *Torwood*, where it was given

given out that they were to be join'd by the rest of their Forces from *Stirling*; though it was afterwards known there never was any such Intention.

The next Morning his Royal Highness made the necessary Dispositions for continuing their March; at which Time, all the Officers and Soldiers, shewed the greatest Alacrity imaginable. The March was not long begun before advice was brought, that the Rebels, instead of preparing for an Engagement, were actually re-passing the *Forth*, with all the Diligence imaginable; and what gave Credit to this, was their advanc'd Guards retiring every where with the utmost Precipitation. This News was soon after put out of Dispute, by the Noise they heard of two great Reports, like the blowing up of Magazines; upon which Brigadier of *Mordaunt* was detach'd with the Dragoons and the *Argyleshire* Men to harass the Rebels in their Retreat. The Brigadier with the Troops under his Command arriv'd at *Stirling* late that Evening, where they found the Rebels
had

had abandon'd their Camp, with all their Artillery, and had blown up their Magazine of about 6000 weight of Powder, which they kept in the Church of *St. Ninian*, a small Village just at the Entrance of *Stirling*; they set Fire to it by discharging a Musket into the Powder; there were three Men order'd to perform this Operation, but the first Firing serv'd; the Church gave a terrible Shock, and destroy'd several of the Rebels who were the Actors of this Tragedy, and nine of the Townsmen were also buried in the Ruins, which some of our Soldiers dug out for their Cloaths, whilst we halted at *Stirling*: Its great Shock also broke all the Windows in the Village, so that they appear'd like to so many Bawdy-Houses: The Rebels likewise left behind them all the wounded Men they had made Prisoners in the late Action, and about twenty of their own sick Men; but it was so late when the King's Forces arriv'd, that it was judg'd needless to continue the Pursuit that Night.

The

The Rebel Army passed the *Forth*, at a Ford about four Miles above the Town; for one Arch of the Bridge was blown up by General *Blackney's* Order, so that they could not pass over it.

February the 2d about One in the Afternoon his Royal Highness enter'd *Stirling*,* and receiv'd the Compliments

* *Stirling* is much like *Edinburgh*, all up Hill, the Castle making the Top of the Town: The great Street in this Town looks very grand, the Houses are exceeding high, and there are several antique Buildings in the highest Part of the Town, but greatly decap'd by being neglected. The Castle is not so very difficult of Access as that of *Edinburgh*, but is esteemed equally as strong, being built on a very high Rock. The Works are capable of mounting more Cannon; there is also a Battery that commands the Bridge, which is of great Importance, and seems to be the main End for which it was built: The Walls, with Variety of Casemats, and all the Outworks, are very firm, and in good Condition: The River *Forth* runs very near the Castle having a great many winding Turns, which begins a little below the Bridge at *Stirling*, and continues to *Allo-way*,
the

ments of General *Blakeney*, and the Officers of his Garrison, on that memorable Occasion: At the same Time his Royal Highness was pleas'd to testify his entire Satisfaction with Respect to the gallant Defence the General had made, by which a Place of so much Importance had been preserv'd, and the Designs of the Enemy defeated.

One of the great Arches of *Stirling*-Bridge being blown up, the King's Forces were oblig'd to stay until it was built up with Boards, which was done in two Days; during which Time, there was a great Number of the Rebels brought in to the Duke, who had hid themselves in Holes and Corners, and had not timely Notice of their Brethren leaving their Quarters. A whole Company of the *Irish* Brigades, that had deserted from

the Seat of the Earl of *Mar*, which is 24 Miles of by Water, and only 4 by land: The Bridge of *Stirling* is a very noble Structure, consisting of four very large Arches with Watch Towers on each Side.

the

the Rebels, came and deliver'd themselves up to his Royal Highness. From hence the Mock Prince fled with so much Precipitation, that he neglected to carry off his Female Colonel *Cameron*, who was taken, and some Time after sent to *Edinburgh Castle*. In the mean Time, the Rebels were making what Dispatch they could to get out of the Way, whilst the Bridge was repairing, Part of them taking the Road by *Tay-Bridge*, towards the Hills, the rest, consisting of Lord *Lewis Gordon's* Men, the Remains of the *French*, those commanded by Lord *Ogilvie*, and the few Horse they had, got into *Perth* that very Night that Brigadier *Mordaunt* arriv'd at *Stirling*; and though they had taken a great deal of Pains in throwing up several Works for the Security of that Place, yet they began to abandon it, and continu'd their March Northwards the next Morning. Lord *John Drummond*, with the Remains of the *Scotch* and *Irish* that came from *France*, made the best of their Way towards *Montrose*; and on the 3d of *February* the Town of *Perth* was totally

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evacuated:

evacuated: They left behind them thirteen Pieces of Iron Cannon, of eight and twelve Pounders nailed up, and threw a great Quantity of Ammunition into the River together with fourteen Swivel Guns that had been taken out of the *Hazard* Sloop, and set at Liberty the Sailors that had been confined there from the Time that the Vessel was taken; but they thought fit to carry off Captain *Hill*, who commanded her and some other Prisoners of the better Sort.

Notwithstanding their Retreat was made in so much Haste, yet it was but just in Time; for on the 4th the Bridge of *Stirling* was repair'd, so that the Army pass'd over it at Six in the Morning, and the advanc'd Guard, consisting of the *Argyleshire* Men and the Dragoons, march'd that Day to *Grief*; but the Foot wer' canton'd in and about *Dumblain*, where the Duke took up his Quarters that Evening; and the next Day the advanc'd Guard took Possession of *Perth*.

It

It is here to be observ'd (and I believe no History can shew a more illustrious Instance of the Effects of a General's Reputation than this I have given you) that, in the Space of one single Week, his Royal Highness quitted the Court of the King his Father, put himself at the Head of his Troops in *Scotland*, and saw the Enemy flying with Precipitation before him; so that it may be said, that his Progress was like Light'ning, the Rebels fled at the Flash, fearing the Thunder that was to follow.

On the 6th, the main Body of our Army got to *Perth**.

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On

* This Town lies in a Hollow, and has formerly been called *St. John's Town*, in Honour of an antient Church dedicated to *St. John*: The *English* in Time of War between the *Bruces* and *Baliols*, fortified it with large Bulwarks, the greatest Part of which the *Scots* demolished. It is, notwithstanding, a pretty little City, pleasantly situated between the *Inches*, which are two Greens so called, where they bleach their Linnen Cloth,
of

On the 7th, the fourteen Swivel Guns that had been thrown into the River by the Rebels were taken up; and on the 8th, two Detachments of 500 Foot each were order'd forwards, one to *Dunkeld*,

of which they have a great Manufacture here; it has three long Streets, and many cross ones, with an old Wall in Ruins, surrounding every Side, excepting that which is bordered by the famous River *Tay*, the largest in *Scotland*, by which it is supply'd every Tide with Commodities from the Sea in their light Vessels, which come up to a handsome Key joining the Town. *Perth* is the second Town in *Scotland* for Dignity: near this formerly stood the old Town of *Perth*, which being overflowed by an Inundation of the *Tay*, occasioned the Building of this where it now stands; this River produceth a great Quantity of Salmon for Exportation: About a Mile from this Town stands the famous Palace of *Stone*, extending 200 Feet in Front, and has been honoured with the Coronation of all the Kings of *Scotland*, ever since *Kenneth*; who having hard by, made a general Slaughter of the *Picts*, placed a Stone here, inclosed in a wooden Chair, for the Inauguration of the Kings of *Scotland*; it was brought out of *Ireland* into *Argyleshire*, and from thence hither, but was carried away by the victorious King *Edward* the First, and placed in *Westminster* Abbey, where it now is.

under

under the Command of Sir *Andrew Agnew*, with the Addition of 150 *Argyle-shire* Men; the other under the Command of Lieutenant-Colonel *Leighton*, to Castle *Menzie*, a Mile on the other Side of *Tay* Bridge; the rest of the Army remain'd at *Perth* four Days longer, in order to rest the Regiments of Foot: As the Rebels had fled quite off, and dispers'd into small Parties, it was to no Purpose to fatigue our Men with forced Marches. After some little Rest at *Perth* his Royal Highness continu'd his March to *Aberdeen*, where the Van of the Army arriv'd on *Wednesday Feb. the 25th.*

His Royal Highness the Duke having Intelligence of a Magazine of the Rebels, at an old Castle call'd *Cirgaaf*, situated in a Desert among the Mountains, near the Head of the River *Don*, about fifty Miles from *Aberdeen*, detach'd 300 Foot under the Command of Major *Morris*, of *Legonier's* late Regiment, now *Conway's*, and 100 Dragoons under the Command of Captain *Stuart*, of Lord

Mark Kerr's, the whole commanded by Lord *Ancram*, with Orders to take and destroy it; which they effectually did, bringing away 367 Firelocks, 370 Bayonets, and 12 000 Musquet Balls, which they scatter'd about the Country amongst the Snow and Hether, and sterv'd and threw into the River *Don* 64 single Barrels of fine *Spanish* Powder and then return'd to *Aberdeen* on *Thursday March* the 5th, with the Loss only of one Horse, and a Man left behind at *Tarland*, ill of the Small-Pox, who afterwards died; though they had endur'd great Fatigue from the Badness of the Roads thro' the Mountains cover'd with Snow, and the Severity of the Weather, neither Officer nor Soldier had taken his Cloaths off for seven Days, from their setting out until their Return to *Aberdeen*.

As I had fallen sick, with a Cold I had got whilst our Army lay before *Girlishie*, and the excessive Fatigue I had endur'd before and after, made me not in a Condition to go this March with the Army; I follow'd them as soon as

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I grew better, by the Way of *Edinburgh*, crossing by Water from *Leith* to *Kinghorn*. When I was at *Edinburgh* *.

* *Edinburgh*, although built on a Hill, may be said to lie in a Valley, by reason of two Hills which cover it, so that it is not seen until you just enter the City; one is called *Salisbury Crags*, i. e. *Rocks*; the other makes the Foundation of the Castle. By the *Highlanders*, this Town has been call'd *Dun Eaden*, i. e. *Eaden Town*: and by the *Romans*, *Castra Alata*, i. e. the *Winged Camp*; for, as *Campden* observes, *Adian*, in the *British* Tongue, signifies a Wing, and so *Edinburgh* (from a Word compounded of the *British* and *Saxon* Tongue) is nothing else but the *Winged Borough*. This City, in regard of its high Situation, the Goodness of the Air, and Fertility of the Soil, so many Seats of the Nobility lying round it, its being watered with excellent Springs, and reaching from East to West a Mile in Length, and half a Mile in Breadth, is, upon this Account justly esteemed the Metropolis of *Scotland*; it is strongly walled, and adorned with publick & private Buildings, well Peopled and frequented, for the Advantage of the Sea, which the Neighbouring Port of *Leith* affords; and as it was formerly honour'd with the King's Residence, so it is now the sacred Repository of the Records, and the chief Tribunal of Justice. At the Extremity of the East End of the City stands the Palace of
Holy-

the 6000 *Hessians*, in *British* Pay, were arriv'd there; they made a fine Appearance

Holyrood-House; leaving of which, a little to the Left, you come through a populous Suburb, to the Entrance called the Water-Port; from hence turning West, the Street goes on in a streight Line through the whole City to the Castle, which is above a Mile in Length, and said by the *Scots*, to be the largest, longest and finest Street for Building and Number of Inhabitants in *Europe*: From the Palace-Door, which stands on the Level with the lowest of the plain Country, this Street begins to ascend very gradually, being no where steep; but this Ascent being continued for so long a Way, it is easy to understand that the farthest Part must necessary be very high; for the Castle which stands, as it were, at the Extremity West, as the Palace does East, makes on all Sides (that only excepted which joins it to the City) a frightful and inaccessible Precipice. Besides the continual Ascent of this great Street, you are to suppose it running along the Top of a Ridge, so narrow, that the Street and the Row of Houses on each Side takes up the whole Breadth; so that whether you turn to the Right or Left you go down Hill immediately, which is so steep that it is very troublesome to those who have bad Lungs, to walk in those side Lanes, which they call Wynds. By this Description you will perceive, the City stands upon a narrow Ridge of a long ascending Mountain.

ance, and observ'd a good Discipline,
and the Men in general were very
handsome;

Mountain: The Castle is situated on so high a Rock, and strongly fortified with a great Number of Towers, that it is looked upon as impregnable; this the *Britains* call'd *Myned Agned*; the *Scots* the *Maiden Castle*, and the *Virgin Castle*, because the Maiden Princesses of the Blood-Royal of the *Picts* were kept here in old Time. The Ascent upon which the City stands, has on the North Side a Pool, called the *North Loch*, and was formerly guarded by another on the South, called the *South Loch*, but this was drained many Years ago, and upon the Banks of it are built two several Tracts of Houses; the Magistrates have also, with great Expence, brought one of the best Springs in *Scotland* into the City, which they did by Leaden Pipes, from a Hill at about three Miles Distance, and to make it more convenient, they have erected several stately Conduits in the Middle of the High-Street, to serve the Town with Water. From the Palace-Gate Westward, this Street is call'd *Canon-Gate*, as belonging to the Canons of the *Abbey*, which is a kind of Suburb by itself; in this Street are several very magnificent Houses of the Nobility, built for their Residence when the Court was here; besides these, there are a great Number of Bawdy-Houses in this Street, which amongst the Frequenters of them, it is a common Question to ask, if they have got a Pair of

handsome ; but their Women are quite the Reverse ; which made me think they were

of *Canon-Gate* Breeches, meaning the Veneral Disease, which rages here as well as in other Places of Note, and had made its Appearance about 200 Years ago ; so early did they fall into the *French* Fashion : At the Upper or West-End of this Street, where it joins to the City, is a Gate, which like *Ludgate*, parts the City from the Suburb, but does not discontinue the Street, which rather widens, and is much more spacious when you are through the Gate than before ; this is the famous *Netherbow-Port*, whose Doors were like to have been taken away by the Parliament, when the Affair of Captain *Porteus* was under their Consideration. Just at this Gate, on the outside, are two Streets, one of which is called *St. Mary's Wynd*, and the other *Leith Wynd* ; the first leads out of the City, South, into the great Road of *England*, by the Way of *Kelfo* ; and at the Foot of it is a Gate called the *Cow-Gate*, which turns West to the Low-Street, because the Cattle are driven to and fro from the great Market-Place ; the other leads North into the Suburb called the *Calton*, from whence there is a very handsome Gravel Walk continued to the Town of *Leith*, which is kept in Repair at the publick Charge ; we now enter the City at the *Netherbow-Port*, and have an open View up the *High-Street*, where stands the *Iron Kirk*, and near it,

were given them for a Curse, as ours are
for a Blessing ; at least theirs might be
reckon'd

in the Middle of the Street, stands the Guard-
House, where two Companies of Soldiers, at the
Charge of the Town, do Duty every Night, and
keep the publick Peace of the City : About the
Midway between the *Netherbow* and the Castle,
stands the great Church, which before the Refor-
mation was Collegiate, and dedicated to St. *Giles*,
but it was afterwards divided into several preaching
Places, and Districts of the City were allotted to
them, so as to be Parochial. When King *Charles*
the First erected a new Bishoprick at *Edinburgh*,
which before that Time was in the Diocese of St.
Andrew's, it was made a Cathedral, and the Dean
was Forenoon Minister of that Part of it called the
New Kirk, which is the Choir, Chancel, or East-
ern Part ; the great Cross under the Tower is
called the Old Kirk, and the Front or West Part
of it is divided into two Parts ; that on the South
is called the *Tolbooth* Kirk, and that on the North
Haddo's Hole, from the Lord of *Haddo*, who be-
ing a great Loyalist and Anti-Covenanter, was
kept Prisoner in a Vault there until he was be-
headed ; in the Steeple, which is very high, is a
Set of Musical Bells, and the Town gives a Man
a yearly Salary for playing on them, from half an
Hour after Eleven, till half an Hour after Twelve
every Day, Sundays and Holidays excepted. On
the South-side of this Church, formerly the Church
yard

reckon'd as an Antidote against that
 Love and Respect which ours justly me-
 rit

yard, is a Square of very fine Buildings, called the *Parliament-Clofs*, the West and South-sides, of which are mostly taken up with the Parliament-House, the several Courts of Justice, the Council Chamber, the Exchequer, the publick Registers, the Lawyer's Library, the Post-Office, &c. The great Church makes up the North Side of the Square: the East and Part of the South-side is built into private Dwellings, which are very stately, lofty and strong, being seven Stories high in the Front of the Square, and the Hill they stand on having a very steep Descent, some of them are no less than fourteen Stories high backwards; in the Middle of the Square or Court is the Statute of King *Charles* the Second, in Brass, erected upon a stately Pedestal, at the Charge of the City; the great Opening into the High-street, being the only Passage into it for Coaches, is at the North East Corner, a little from which is the Market-Cross, where all Proclamations and publick Acts are read, and published by Heralds and Sound of Trumpet. Here is the great Parade where Gentlemen meet for Business or News, and serves as an Exchange every Day from Eleven to One: Near the East-End of the great Church stands the *Folbooth*, or common Prison, as well for Criminals as Debtors; the great Church and the Prison standing in the middle of this Street, obstruct its
 Breadth

rit. Their Horses were pretty neat Things, with long Tails and Manes, it being
A a

Breadth and Beauty for some Space ; but beyond those buildings, and the middle Row, called the *Lucken-Booths*, the Street opens again to its former Breadth, and is now called the *Lawn-Market*, from the *Linen-Market* being kept here ; this Street extends West, to a narrow Part which leads to the *Castle-Hill* ; here the Street parts in two, one of which leads directly to *Castle-Hill*, as already noticed, and the other stands South-West, which descending gradually leads to the *Grass-Market*, a Place like *Smithfield*, on Account of a Weekly Market, for Black Cattle, Sheep, Horses, &c. Without this is a Street called the *West-Row*, inhabited mostly by Wholesale Dealers, in Iron, Pitch, Tar, Oil, Hemp, Flax, Lintseed, Drugs, Woods, and such like heavy Goods.

The next remarkable Buildings are, first, *Heriot's Work*, which is a large stately Pile, adorned with a consecrated Chapel, and Pleasant Gardens : It was built by the Rev. Dr. *Pelcangulal*, to whom *George Heriot*, Jeweller to King *James VI.* left near 1700 l. to be disposed of in pious Uses ; which this worthy Dean did, by building and endowing this House, and giving Statutes to it, which he ordered should be unalterable. It is a Nursery for an infinite Number of the Sons of
Freemen

being customary to indulge all the Hair
that grow on those Parts. Those Troops
march'd

Freemen, who are maintain'd, cloath'd, and educated in useful Learning, 'till they are fit for Apprenticeships, or to go to the University, where they are allowed handsome Salaries and Exhibitions. The next most remarkable, is the Royal Infirmary, lately erected but not quite finished; but by our sick and wounded Soldiers it was pretty well filled, where they had very good Care taken of them: It is a large beautiful Building, and has a great many Conveniences. The Amphitheatre for Operations, is said to be the grandest and best designed of any. It was built by the liberal Contributions of many well disposed Persons; and there was so general a good Will to the Work, that the like has not been known any where, except that of the Temple: I am told that the Proprietors of several Stone Quarries made Presents of Stone to it, others of Lime; Merchants contributed Timber, and the Wrights and Masons were not wanting in gratis Work; the neighbouring Farmers likewise agreed to carry Materials gratis: His Majesty was also pleased to give 100 l. towards it. The following is the Inscription on the first Stone, *The Royal Infirmary at Edinburgh, founded August 2, 1738, Earl Cromartie, G. M.* Next is the Royal Palace, a very handsome Building, rather convenient than large; it was formerly both a Royal Palace and an Abbey, founded

march'd to *Perthshire*, where they were
 joined by some *British*, in order to stop
 the

A a 2

ed by King *David I.* for the *Cannons Regular* of
St. Austin, who named it *Holyrood-House*, or the
 House of the *Ho'y-Cross* : It was burnt down by
Oliver-Cromwell, but re-edified by King *Charles*
 the Second, and of which his Grace the Duke of
Hamilton is hereditary Keeper. It is now almost
 neglected. The long Gallery is adorned with
 the Pictures of all the *Scots Kings* from *Fergus I.*
 This served for a Lodging Room for our Soldiers
 upon Straw, as did most of the other Rooms.

The adjoining Park belonging to this Abbey is
 about four Miles in Circumference, but there is
 neither Deer nor Tree in it ; but there is
 a craggy Rock about half a Mile high, called *Ar-*
thur's Seat, for *Arthur* the *British King*, I was
 told, used to view the adjacent Country from thence,
 This Palace, or Abbey, and the Park are a Sanc-
 tuary for Debtors. Close to this Abbey is a neat
 Physick-Garden, abounding with great Variety of
 curious Plants, with Stoves, under the Direction
 of Doctor *Charles Alston*, the present Botanical
 Professor : Next, and lastly, the College or U-
 niversity, which stands near the *Potter-rove Port* ;
 it consists of three Courts : those Courts are en-
 compassed with neat Buildings for the Use of such
 Students as please to lodge in them ; for they do
 not live in common as in the College of *Dublin*,
 nor are they obliged to reside but only to attend
 their Classes at certain Hours. This

the Western Passage, in Case the Rebels should attempt to return to *England* again. I

This City has, in former Ages, been very variable and inconstant ; sometimes it was subject to the *Scots*, and sometimes to the *English*, who inhabited the East Part of *Scotland*, until it became wholly under the *Scots* Dominion, about the Year 960, when the *English* being overpowered, and quite oppressed by the *Danes*, were forced to quit all their Interest here, as unable to grapple with two such potent Enemies. *Edinburgh* is certainly a fine City, and I believe can boast of the highest Houses in *Europe* ; notwithstanding it has its Faults, for the City being very close built, and the Want of Common Shores to carry off, occasions the Town to be very nasty ; and about Seven o'Clock in the Morning it stinks intolerably, before the Excrements are swept away from the Doors, which they throw out of the Windows in the Night ; for after Ten o'Clock, it is Fortune favours you, if a Chamber Pot with Excrements, &c. is not thrown on your Head ; if you are walking in the Streets, it is then diverting to Strangers, to hear all Passers by, cry out with a loud Voice, sufficient to reach the Tops of the Houses, which are generally six or seven Stories high in the Front of the *High-Street*.---*Hold yare Hand*, i. e. *hold your Hand*, and means, do not throw 'till I am past. Every Stair-Case is called a Turnpike or Land, with the Addition of some

I set out from *Edinburgh* the 10th of *March*, for our Army at *Aberdeen*, having receiv'd proper Instruction from Lord Chief Justice Clerk; but the Weather being very stormy, so that no Passage Boat could cross to *Kinghorn*, I was

A a 3

detain'd

some Name to distinguish it from another; as, for Example, hold your Hand in *Bell's-Land*; this, with Variation is the common Cry all over the Streets, at Ten o'Clock at Night, and after: It is very rare to see a single House inhabited by one Family in the High-street, for generally People of the best Rank have but one Floor, which is the first and second, the poorer Sort ascend. They keep their Close stools in their Bed-Rooms, which they call Boxes, and are emptied out of the Windows at Night; so shitten Luck often lights on the Person who walks at late Hours in the Streets.

The Ladies of *Edinburgh* are very handsome; they use the *Scots* Plaids about their Heads and Shoulders, and at Church they almost cover their Faces, by which they obscure those Charms which the strictest Modesty might allow them to expose. I thought they looked demure and hypocritical; although in an Undress (I mean without their Plaids) they are very agreeable: they are also very industrious, and take great Pride in having most Part of their Cloaths the Product of their own

detain'd twenty-four Hours at * *Leith*, during which Time I had very good Quarters and kind Usage at Mr *Andrew Carr's*, near the End of the Gravel Walks.

On

own Working; are great Admirers of white Thread Stockings, and need not be ashamed of shewing them upon their Legs, they being of their own making; for it is not common to see a *Scots* Woman sit idle. Over the Tea Table they are generally at Work, either upon their Thread to make them Linen or Plaids, or else knitting themselves Stockings, or Gloves most curious and fine; a Piece of Industry not common to Ladies in other Parts; but more the Pity: Their Men on the contrary Live altogether as idle, as appears by so many of them having spent their Fortunes and enter'd into the Rebellion.

* *Leith* is a large Sea-port Town, a Mile from *Edinburgh*, built on both Sides the River *Leith*, over which is a stately Stone Bridge, to which Ships of Burthen may come, and at High Water lay their Sides close to the Shore; here is a fine Key well wharfed up with Stone, and fenced with Piles. The *Firth* is here 7 Miles across to *Kinghorn* on the other Side. where are Ferry-Boats for Men and Horses passing every Tide: Formerly this Town was strongly fortified by one *Dessy* a Frenchman,

On the 11th I crossed the *Firth*, from *Leith* on *Kinghorn*, which is a stragling, dirty Town; as I did not stay in it all Night, I made no further Observations, only in general, that the *Kinghorn* Horse-hirers and Boatmen, of which the Town chiefly

Frenchmen, for the Security of *Edinburgh*; after which, great Numbers of People flock'd thither, and in a short Time from a mean Village it grew to a large Town: In the Reign of our King *Henry VIII.* the Sufferings and Calamities both of it and its Neighbours were grievous and inexpressible, being both burnt and plunder'd by Sir *John Dudley*, Viscount *Leslie*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, who came with a powerful Army, and broke down the Pier, burning every Stick thereof, and took away all the Ships that were fit to serve him; which kind of Execution was done likewise at *Dunbar*. Afterwards, when *Francis* King of *France*, had taken to Wife *Mary* Queen of the *Scots*, *Frenchmen* were in Hopes, and conceited, they had grappled all *Scotland*, and even began to gape for *England*. A. D. 1560, they strengthened it again with new Fortifications; but Queen *Elizabeth* being solicited by the Nobles, (who had embrac'd the Protestant Religion) to side with them; by her Wisdom and Management she effected the Matter, that the *French* were enforced to return into their own Country, and all

the

chiefly consists, are noted all *Scotland* over for their Impudence and impositions, I rode that Evening along the Shore five or six Miles, to *Kirkcaldy*, which is compos'd only of one very long Street, built close on the Beach by the Sea-side. Inhabited mostly by Fishermen and Coal-miners; they rise great Quantities of Coal hereabouts; they have likewise several Salt-Pans for boiling and making of Salt.

My next Stage was to *Cooper* in *Fife*, the Shire-Town, pleasantly situated upon the Banks of the River *Eden*, surrourded with tall Trees, which is a great rarity in that Country; I baited at the Widow *Cooper's*, at the *Cooper's Arms* who keeps good Entertainment: About Twelve Miles further, over a good pleasant Country, I arriv'd at the *Firth*.

the Fortifications were laid level with the Ground and *Scotland* hath ever since been freed from the *French*, and *Leith* is become a very fine flourishing Town, and Port for *Edinburgh*.

Firth of Tay (here I hired a Boat to ferry over to * *Dundee*) which is three Miles broad; it being a rough Tide, and the Wind not very fair, that Evening I was oblig'd to stay at what they call the *West-Port*, until Morning.

From *Dundee* I proceed to *Arbroth*, and travelling eight Miles of very bad Road, I came to *Montrose*, where is a Ferry to cross over the River *South-Esk*; here I saw the *French Man of War*

* *Dundee* is situated near the *Tay's* Mouth, to which from the Ferry is join'd a Causeway or Walk, well pav'd with flat Free-Stone, and Rows of Trees are planted on either Side of the Walk, which makes it very agreeable. The Name seems to be deriv'd from *Dun*, a Hill; and the River *Tay*, is situated on the North-Side of it: It is a Town of Note, good Trade, and well built has two very long and large Streets, with a large Market Place in the Middle, said to be the largest and fairest in *Scotland*, except that at *Aberdeen*. This Town stands in a pleasant Plain, and besides the Advantages just now mentioned, hath two Churches, and a Harbour for Ships of Burthen. The Inhabitants are generally rich, and those that fall to decay have a large Hospital provided for them

War that was wreck'd, which brought over Lord *John Drummond*. This Town is well situated for Trade, having a good Harbour. *Montrose* makes a very fine Appearance from the Ferry, and lies near the Sea; it consists only of one very fine Street, and another short one,

them. The great Church was formerly Collegiate, and a very large Building; but Part of it was demolished in the Civil War, when this Town was stormed by *Cromwell*. The Tower upon the Church is a handsome square Building, large, ancient, and very high, and is a good Ornament to the Town.

From *Dundee*, it is twelve Miles through the Shire of *Angus*, and a good Road, which is mostly by the Sea-side to *Arbroath*, commonly called *Arbroath*; It is a Royal Borough; where stands the stately Ruins of the greatest Abbey in *Scotland*, the Walls being mostly standing; yet looks very grand at a Distance, and was a Place of old, dedicated to Religion, by King *William* of *Scotland*, who died in 1214, in Honour of St. *Thomas Becket*, and endowed by him with large Revenues; he lies here interr'd, and has a stately Monument. It is also favour'd with a Mineral Spring, much frequented for many Diseases: Is a pretty little Town, pleasantly situated, with a Harbour. The chief Manufacture here is Thread, which passes for *Dundee* Thread, the most noted in *Scotland*.

going

going off at the End of it: Here is a very pretty Kirk and a Town-House; the Streets are very broad and well pay'd the People very genteel, but disaffected. I quartered in going North at the *but* Inn (I forgot what Sign they kept) however they did not forget to make an extravagant Charge; I suppos'd they had used the Rebels more kindly who had been there a little before but in my Return from the *Highlands* I had very agreeable Quarters at *Montrose*; there were four Troops of Lord *Cubham's* Dragoons at this Time in Town, and when on the March with the Army, I being a Volunteer, was always put to Gentlemen's Houses to quarter; so at this Time I was billeted on a most agreeable young Lady whose Parents were lately dead, but she had a great Regard for *Charley*; and at Breakfast, there being no other in Company, she, with a pretty innocent Freedom, ask'd me, *If I did not think that P--- C--- was the Right Heir to the Crown?* To which I answered *Madam, you cannot think that I am of that Opinion, when you consider*
how

how far I have gone to bear arms against him, and in the Station of a Volunteer. Pretty Miss replied, that was the only convincing Reason which could be given; for had you bore a Commission, continued she, I should have doubted your Sincerity, and think it strange you should be so much bias'd in your Judgment. Had this Discourse proceeded from one of my own Sex, I should have been out of Humour; but from so agreeable a Person, nothing could come amiss. I told her, That I had endur'd a great deal of fatigue in the Government's Service, during the Time of the Rebellion, receiv'd no Pay, nor got any Plunder; but that if I could get so pretty a Rebel Lady as she was, to carry with me to England, I should be fully recompenced for all my Trouble. To which Miss replied, That Gentlemen on their Travels don't like to be troubled with Ladies; and that she thought she might rather seem to be a Plague, to torment me, for the Sins I had committed, in rebelling against a lawful Prince. In this Manner we sat about two Hours at the Tea-Table; at which

which Time I was as much in Love with her agreeable Company, as she was with her Mock Prince.

It is remarkable, many of the prettiest Ladies in *Scotland* are *Jacobites*, and Members of *Nonjuring Meeting-Houses*; although I could wish that all such, as my pretty Hostess. were married to Men well-affected to the present Government, who by kind indulgent Methods, might bring over the valuable Fair to a better Way of Thinking, many of the *Scots* Ladies being very handsome and I am sure that if their Bodies and Minds bear a just Resemblance, by good Usage they might be reclaim'd; so that in those Cases the Husband should be answerable for the Wife's Default.

After leaving *Montrose* about a Mile, I came to the *North-Esk*, where there is a small Ferry for Foot-Passengers, but the Horse fords it when there is little Fresh in the River, which runs with a very strong Current; however, my Horse being heavy, I got very well over, by

B b

keeping

keeping up against the Stream; after which I cross'd over eight Miles of a most wretched Country to *Bervie*; the Road being excessive bad, I lost a Shoe from my Horse; it likewise rain'd and blew hard, which much fatigued me. At the going into the End of this Town, which had a miserable bad Appearance, I met with a discreet looking Man, considering the Place, of whom I asked the Question, If there was ever an honest Smith in the Town, that would not take Pleasure in lameing the King's Horse? (though it was my own as I employed him in the King's Service, might be reckoned his) To which the Gentleman answered, That their Smiths were not accustomed to shoe such Horses but desired me to alight, and he would order his Servant to take Care of my Horse. In this bad Country, I was desirous to know who I had met with that shew'd such Civility to one in the Government's Service; whom I afterwards understood to be a Minister of the establish'd Church, who were always zealous Friends to the Government: He took me to his House, and

and whilst my Horse was shoeing, had Dinner dress'd and brought to the Table, in a very neat Manner, by a Man-Servant; as the Minister was a Bachelor, he kept no other but Men-Servants, who brew'd his Drink, dress'd his Victuals, and did the other Business about the House, with as much Decency as any Maid-Servant I had seen in the Country, At and after Dinner we had extraordinary good Ale of their own brewing, and as a Fence against the Inclemency of the Weather, was advis'd to drink some very good Brandy, I suppose of the Produce of *France*, and perhaps never paid Duty; for this and all other little Towns along the Shore, appear to live mostly by Smuggling and Fishing.

From *Bervie*, I got to *Stonehive* that Evening eight Miles farther: This little Town is built close under an Hill, by the Sea-Side, so that there is no House to be seen untill you come directly to the Town. I put up at an Inn kept by one Doctor *Lawson*, which is the best in the Town; in the Morning I met with

Capt. *Hayes*, whom I was glad to see, as I was travelling alone in that wild Country; he with some other Officers were on their March to the Army, with about the Number of two Companies of recovered Soldiers, that had been left sick at *Blair-Castle*, and other Places. At this Town there is a pretty little Harbour for small Ships, it being mostly an Inlet betwixt great Rocks. From *Stonehive* it is twelve Miles to *Aberdeen*; the latter half Way is the wretchedest Country that I ever saw until then; but had the Pleasure, such as it was, to see a great deal more of the same Sort afterwards, producing nothing but Peat, it being so barren, that Hether won't grow, and lies so thick with Coble-Stones, as to render the Road hard and rough; but having good Company made it somewhat agreeable.

About a Mile before you come to the City, there is a stately Stone-Bridge, consisting of eleven Arches, with Watch-Towers (built by *Gawin Dumbear*, then Bishop of *Aberdeen*) a-cross the River-
Dec;

Dee ; you then travel along the bank of this River, and have a most pleasant Prospect of * *New Aberdeen*. I had met with one of the Townsmen at *Dundee*, who gave me directions to his House, where I put up my Horse for the present, otherwise I should have been at a loss to have found an Inn, (which they call change Houses,) there being but one Sign in the Town, to notify such a House, although there is a great many publick Houses in the Place, but I was yet at a want for Furrage, as I had always before mentain'd my Horse at my own Expence, but here, there was nothing of that kind to be had at an Inn, all the Furrage being order'd into Magazines, and none to be delivered out without a proper Order ; I not being Incorporated to any Particular Regiment was obliged to apply to his Royal Highness ; although very unwilling to

B b 3

give

New Aberdeen is situated near the Sea, 57 Degrees 25 Minutes North Latitude ; is the Capital of the Sherrifdom of *Aberdeen*, the Seat of the Sheriff

give the Duke that trouble, who ordered me to make Application to Colonel *Neiper*, (who was Ajutant General,) from whom I received an Order to the Commissary of Furrage, which was Transmitted into a General Order, (I carried with me as I was a Volunteer at large,) to receive Furrage at any Place in *Scotland*, where the King had a Magazine.

On the 15th of *March* I arriv'd here; at which Time his Royal Highness had ordered the Army to be divided into three Cantonements, and the Battalions were daily marching off; the whole first Line, consisting of six Battalions, the Duke of *Kingston's* Horse, and Lord *Cibham's* Dragoons, were ordered to *Strathbogie*, within twelve Miles of the *Spey*, under the Command of Lord *Allemarle* and Major-General *Bland*; the Reserve

Sheriff for trying Causes, and much exceeds the rest of the Cities in the North of *Scotland*, in Bigness, Trade and Beauty. The Air is very whole-
some

Reserve, consisting of three Battalions, with four Pieces of Cannon, under the Command of Brigadier *Mordaunt*, to *Old Melarum*. half Way betwixt *Strathbogie* and this Place; and the whole second Line, consisting of six Battalions, and Lord *Mark Kerr's* Dragoons, remained here.

On the 21st, an advanced Party, consisting of a Captain, with 50 Highlanders, and 30 of *Kingston's* Light Horse, had been detached by General *Bland* to *Keith* where a party of Rebels were just preparing to sit down to Dinner; but on the Approach of the King's Men the Rebels fled,

some, and the Inhabitants well bred: The River *Dee* runs along the Back of the Town, and is pretty Broad, but hath many Sands, which are almost dry at low Tide. About half a Mile from the Town, Ships of the largest Burthen may come up, and smaller Craft come even with the Middle of the Town: There are also great Quantities of Salmon catch'd here, which the Proprietors Pickle and export to London: There is likewise great Plenty of all Sorts of white Fish: The Streets are well paved, and the Houses built with Stone
and

fled, and left their Dinner to be eaten by those it was not intended for; but they being informed of the Number of our Men, resolved to return and fall upon them in the Night; our loyal Highland Men, who, to do them Justice, were always willing and ready to do the hardest Duty, had desired *Kingston's* Men to go to bed, expecting all was safe, and that they would do the Duty for that Night; accordingly they fixed their Guard in the Church-Yard: The Rebels, in Number about 500, marched back from *Fochabers*, where they had fled

and Slate, and are generally four Stories high: The Town consists of three or four good Streets; that called the *Broad-Street* is the Principal, and is really a fine Street of stately Houses: Here is likewise a fine Market Place call'd *Castle-street*, which is very spacious: in the Middle of which stands an antient and curious Cross, with many Antique Figures round the Upper Part of it; and a little higher there is a very useful Conduit, as there is in every Street; where there is a constant Resort of People for Water to them. Opposite to the Market-Cross, is the *Tolbooth*, which serves for a Prison and Stadt-house; near the same Place
is

fled to, and entered the Town at both Ends falling upon the *Campbells*, who bravely defended themselves for half an Hour, during which Time there was a brisk Fire on both Sides; but being over-powered by Numbers were obliged to submit, and the whole Party was lost, except a Cornet and five of *Kingston's* Men, two Horses, and one Highlander, who made their Escape; one of the Troopers that escaped was shot in the Arm, and was obliged to have it cut off at *Strathbagie*. I happened to be at the Duke's Quarters when the above Account came

is the Guard-House: I had Occasion to be at all the three different Places in one Day, with a Rebel Prisoner that I had taken. Here are three Churches, *viz.* the College-Church, an ancient Building; likewise the Old and the New Churches, adjoining each other, both large Buildings. The New Church is in very good order; but that Part called the Old Church the Roof is fallen from some Part of it, and out of Repair; however it served for a Magazine, to keep our Straw and unthreshed Corn in. In the Church-yard; along the Walls, stood about 300 Horses, that belong'd to our Train of Artillery picqueted; here they remain'd Night and Day, notwithstanding

came by one of *Kingston's* Troopers, who was a man of no very good Conduct, he being subject to drink, and had like to have quarrelled with one of Lord *Mark Kerr's* Dragoons : I out of regard to the Cohort he belonged to, took my Horse and conveyed him safe out of the Town, likewise through *Old Aberdeen*, and over the Bridge of *Don*, about three Miles in his Way. The River *Don* is remarkable for the Abundance of Salmon and Trout taken in it : The Bridge is famous for its Extent, being only one Arch over that large River, and is reckoned

ing the Severity of the Weather. There are two Episcopal Meeting-Houses, one of which is very Handsome, having a neat Organ, and many other Ornaments ; the other was likely to be attainted of Treason ; I don't know how it far'd ; but there were two other Episcopal Nonjuring Meeting-Houses in Town, whom our Soldiers burnt, but with good Husbandry and Frugality, not consuming the Pile at once, as was often the Case ; the Wood being industriously reserved to heat our Bakers Ovens. What gave me the most Concern was, that so many of the Handsomest of the *Scotts* Ladies were Attendants of these Meeting-Houses ;
but

ed a curious Piece of Workmanship ; this immense Arch of Stone is sprung from two Rocks, one on each Side, which serve as a Butment to the Arch so that it may be said to have a Foundation co-equal with Nature, and will last as long ; this Bridge has been remarkable to

but their agreeable Accomplishments were a sufficient Protection, from the Resentment of well-bred Men ; as for their pretty Gentlemen, we could manage well enough when we met with them.

The greatest Ornament of this City is its College, called the *Marshallian* Academy, being founded by *George Keith*, Earl Marishal, in the Year 1554. The City of *Aberdeen* hath been very much adorned with several additional Buildings besides a Primary Professor, who is call'd Principal : It has four Professors of Philosophy, one of Divinity, and one of the Mathematicks, and there is lately added a Professor of Physick. It has also a very good Library, founded by the City, enlarged by the Gifts of several learned Men, and well furnished, with Mathematical Instruments. This College, with that of the Old Town, make up one University, called the University of King *Charles II.* I happened to get acquainted with the Keeper of the Library, who gave me this Account of

to Travellers, but more so at this Time, for we had taken a Rebel Spy, who was hanged on a Tree close to this Bridge, with this Writing fixed on his Breast, *A Rebel Spy*; which of Consequence would hinder Crows from building Nests in that Tree for a Season.

Although

of it. This City is built upon three Hills, but the greatest Part is upon the Highest, and at the Head of which stands an old Castle, mostly in Ruins; but it likewise served for a Magazine to keep our Hay and Corn in: The other Part of the Town is spread out upon the Plain, from whence there is an easy Access by an Ascent every Way, except that Side next the River, whose Bank is steep: There had formerly been a Mint here, as appears, by Silver Coins stamped, with this Inscription, *Urbes Aberdenæ*, which are still preserved in the Closets of the Curious.

At the West End of this City is a little round Hill, at the Foot of which there rises a Fountain of clear Water: and in the Middle another Spring bubbles up, call'd the *Aberdenian Spaw*; tis said to come near the Spaw-Water in the Bishoprick of *Leige*, both in Taste and Quality, particularly concerning which Dr. *William Barclay* wrote a Treatise. The Manufacture here is chiefly Stockings, of which they make vast Quantities all round

Although the continued bad Weather for some Time past had raised the Waters, and retarded the Proceedings of the Army against the Rebels; yet there was always something doing, that help'd to lessen their Interest, and put a Check to any further Risings of them.

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about

round the adjacent Country; and every Morning the Women bring in Loads to sell about the Town to Merchants, who have them scoured for Exportation to *London, Hamburgh, and Holland*; they are generally all white from the Maker, and knit mostly plain, some ribbed, and a great many with Squares, which greatly please the *Dutch*. They make Stockings here in common, from one Shilling a Pair to a Guinea and Half; and some are so fine as to sell for five Guineas the Pair. They have an Exportation of Pork, which they pickle and pack up in Barrels, and sell to the *Dutch*, for victualling their *East-India* Ships and their Men of War: The *Aberdeen* Pork has the Reputation of being the best cured in *Europe*, for keeping in long Voyages.

Old Aberdeen is a Mile from the New City, and consists of one long Street, has one Church, and a College more noted than that of the new Town; this old Town was formerly the Bishop's Seat, and

About the 20th his Royal Highness the Duke got certain Intelligence, that the Earl of *Airly*, Father to the Lord *Ogilvie*, was raising his Men to join the Rebels; and he not having complied with the Order to desist from such treasonable Practices, his Royal Highness ordered Captain *Hewett*, with 100 recover'd Men, who were coming up to the Army, to take Possession of his House, and to make him Prisoner in it until his People should bring in their Arms, and behave in such a Manner as became good Subjects; which had so good an Effect, that a Number brought in their Arms, and desisted from their Intention of joining the Rebels; His Royal Highness likewise ordered Major

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and has a Cathedral, commonly called St. *Martha's*, a large stately Structure, which was antiently much more magnificent: It suffered greatly at the Time of the Reformation, but more since the Revolution. The Windows of this Church were formerly very remarkable for their stained Glass; and something of its antient Splendour still remains: The Steeple, besides other Bells,

La Fausille with 300 Men to go to *Glen-Esk*, which is one of the most rebellious Parts, to attack all whom he might find in Arms against the Govern-

Bells, has two of a very extraordinary Bigness. The chief Ornament of this Town is the College, consisting of a fine Square, with a good Pump in the Middle of it, and makes a grand Appearance at a Distance : It was founded by Bishop *Elphinstone*, in the Year 1500, and the greatest Part built by him ; but King *James IV.* taking the Patronage upon himself, it was call'd the King's College. A Bull was procured from Pope *Alexander VI.* in 1510, endowing it with as ample Privileges as those of *Paris* and *Bononia*. There is in this College a principal, a Subprincipal, three Regents or Professors of Philosophy, a Professor of Humanity, a Professor of Divinity, a Doctor of Physick, a Professor of the Oriental Tongues, a Professor of the Civil Law, and a Professor of the Mathematicks. This Town being pleasantly situated, I used to ride out here often, taking a Turn to the Sea-Side, over the *Links*, being green Fields so called, running along the shore to the *Blockhouse*, a Fort planted with Cannon at the Mouth of the River *Dee*, which commands the Entrance of that River ; along the Banks of which it is very pleasant and much frequented by People walking or riding, to observe the Ships in the River, it being about a Mile from *New-Aberdeen* to the Block-House ; there are several Houses all the Way inhabited by Filhermen, Alesefers, &c.

ment, and to burn the Habitations of such as had left them, and were with the Rebels : Accordingly the Major disarmed all the Rebels in *Glova* and *Glen-Esk*, and joined the Army with near 500 recovered Men : Two Hundred of *Stoneywood's* Men (belonging to the Rebels, whom they attempted to embark at *Finaorn*) deserted from them, and several of the Deserters said, that the Rebel-Army was in great Want of Money, having received no Pay for seven Days, but that the *Hazard Sloop* was expected with a Supply.

Lord *Loudon*, for very good Reasons, abandon'd Fort St. *George*, at *Inverness* and drew off his Men, leaving only a small Garrison in it under the Command of Major *Grant*, with Orders to defend it, which afterwards fell into the Hands of the Rebels without much Resistance ; for which, Major *Grant* was try'd by a Court-Martial and broke : The Rebels likewise made themselves Masters of *Fort Augustus*, and the Old Barracks, and made the Garrison, consisting of three Com-

Companies of *Guile's* Regiment Prisoners: The Advantages the Rebels expected by taking Fort *George* and Fort *Augustus*, and the Retreat of Lord *London* was to draw the Seat of War amongst the Hills, and protract it a little longer; for the only Junction they gained there, was some few of the *Mac-kenzies*, headed by the Lady *Seaforth*, but the Lord of that Name was with Lord *London*, as was Mr *Mucintosh*, whose Lady likewise join'd the Rebels at *Inverness*, and was reckon'd the Beauty there. She got together all her Clan, and marched at their Head (with a white Cockade, &c.) and presented them to the Mock Prince: for which (without Doubt) she was most kindly received by him; and as he had abandoned the Female Colonel *Cameron*, in his Flight from *Stirling*, the Loss of her might now be made up by this Lady.

The Siege of Fort *William* by the Rebels (of all their Undertakings) was the most regularly carried on from the 14th of *March* to the 3d of *April* with

1500 Men, 8 Pieces of Cannon, and 7 Mortars, under the Command of Brigadier *Stapleton*, and under him *Cameron* of *Lochiel*, and *Canronald*, with three or four more Chiefs of the *Mickdonalds*, *Stewarts* and *Cimerons*: The Garrison being bravely defended by Capt. *Scott*, having several Reinforcements sent him and it being not in the Power of the Rebels to cut off the Communication by Sea, on the 14th they raised the Siege, and left the Garrison in Possession of all their Artillery. At this Time the Castle of *Blair* had been attack'd by a Party of the Rebels under the Command of the Lord *George Murray*, and another Body of them had proceeded to Castle *Minzies*, another Seat of the Duke of *Athol's*: Sir *Andrew Agnew*, who defended *Blair* Castle, although he was much distressed for Want of Provisions, bravely held out until the 3d of *April*, at Five o'Clock in the Morning, when the Earl of *Crawford* with a Party of Dragoons, arrived there, and was followed by the Duke of *Athol* upon whose Approach the Rebels raised the Siege, and retired to *Ruthven*;

Ruthven; as did likewise those from *Castle Menzies*; The Prince of *Hesse* likewise marched from *Perth* for the Relief of *Blair*; and on the 4th, his Royal Highness the Prince set out from *Dunkeld* for the Castle, with all the Cavalry and Hussars, and was followed by 1000 Foot: This Relief was very seasonable, the Garrison in the Castle having been, (as I was informed, which is highly to the Honour of Sir *Andrew Agnew*) obliged to eat Horse Flesh several Days.

There is at the End of *Aberdeen*, a stately large House with Gardens, &c. called *Silberton's Works* built by one of that Name; and after his Decease, both were bought by the Town for an Hospital, but it never came to any Perfection in that Way. This House his Royal Highness the Duke fortified with a deep Trench, Pallisadoes, Horn-Works, &c. for the Use of a Magazine and Hospital for our Sick and wounded Soldiers; and at the same Time left a sufficient Force in it, under the Command of Major *Crosby*, to secure the
Town

Town and it from any Insults from *Glenbucket's* People, or any other. In giving a Description of *Old Aberdeen*, I forgot to acquaint you, that besides the Church and College, there was a handsome Modern built Episcopal Nonjur-ing Meeting-House, but the Congregation (as all others of that kind) were rebelliously inclined, hindering the Country People from coming in with Turf, for the support of the King's Army, on which the Soldiers fell to Work with their Meeting-House, and disposed of it in the same Manner of the other two, in the New Town of *Aberdeen*. In those Cases a Soldier in Time of War, if not more Expeditious than a Justice of Peace, in putting the Laws in Execution: Nay, they even sometimes make good Laws which answer the Present occasion. Whilst we continued here, I one day happen'd to meet with two Butchers who inform'd me that when they went into the Country to buy Cattle for the use of the King's Army, had occasion to go past a Man's House who threatned to kill them, if they came that way again,

on

on the like occasion, I desired them to go and shew me where this Man lived which they did, it being about a Mile distance, and happening to meet with him, I brought him off Prisoner and delivered him to the Main-Guard, this Confirms what I have said of the Military Law, for had this Complaint been made to a Justice of the Peace, although a Jacobite durst do no less than grant a Warrant for the transgressor, yet there might have been delays in the Execution of it, whereas this affair was transacted immediately, and the Obstruction of the Butcher going about their lawful occasions quickly removed.

For some Days before we marched, there were scandalous written Libels drop'd about the Town by the Rebel Party ; I happened to find one of them in the Lane going out of *Broad-street* to the Duke's Quarters, where I carried it ; the Substance of which was, to admonish our Soldiers of their Danger that attended us in the Pursuit of the Rebels ; and that there were several Mines about the

Spey

Spey ready for blowing us up on our Approach. In order to find the Authors of which several of the Inhabitants were oblig'd to shew their Hand-writing to People appointed for that Purpose, which by comparing with the Libels, was hoped would be found out ; but it proved ineffectual.

His Royal Highness spared no Pains or Trouble to put every Thing in Readiness to be in Motion sooner, but bad Weather and contrary Winds had hitherto prevented him ; at length a few Days of dry Southerly Wind brought up our Transports with *Bligh's* Regiment, our Firing and Provision. His Royal Highness having sent two Officers to reconnoitre the *Spey*, they returned with an Account, that the Waters were much abated. On the 6th of *April* he gave Orders for the Army to march next Day ; but before it began, Captain *M-Kay*, Lord *Rea's* Son and Sir *Henry Monroe*, Son of the late Sir *Robert*, both Captains in Lord *Loudon's* Regiment, arriv'd with the agreeable News, from
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Capt. O'Brien, of the *Sheerness* Man of War, now here, that he, after chasing the *Hazard* Sloop above fifty Leagues, had drove her ashore, and obliged the *French* and *Spaniards* who were on board, to quit her; but they landed five Chests of Money, to the value of Twelve Thousand Pounds and upwards, in order to join the Rebels. Had this Landing been in a rebellious Country they had been safe; but the Lord *Rea* in whole Country they landed, being well-affect-ed, and at whole House Capt. *Mackay*, Sir *Henry Monroe*, Lord *Charles Gordon*, and Capt. *Mackintosh*, with some other Officers, and about eighty Men of Lord *Louden's* Regiment (who had been driven thither by the Rebels) being now join'd by some of Lord *Rea's* People, march'd out and attack'd them, and after killing four, and dangerously wounding eight, took the remaining 156 Prisoners, amongst whom were forty experienced *French* Officers, who were immediately embarked on board the *Sheerness* and the Prize, in which were a great Number of Fire-Arms, Broad Swords, &c. together with

with the Officers and Men, that made this Capture, who all arrived at *Aberdeen*: This Affair put a Stop to our March until the next Day. Thus the Rebels long expected Succours happily fell into our Hands, and undoubtedly must be a great Disappointment to them.

On *Tuesday* the 18th of *April*, his Royal Highness marched from *Aberdeen*, with six Battalions of Foot, and Lord *Mark Kerr's* Dragoons, in order to seek the Rebels: It being fine Weather, our Transports at the same Time, moved along Shore, with a gentle Breeze and fair Wind. We marched through *Old Aberdeen*, which I have already described, from thence passed through several small Villages of no Fame (except *New Machar*, noted for a famous Bawdy-House, kept by an old Woman and her two Daughters) to *Old Meldrum*, a poor old dirty Town, where the Army quarter'd the first Night, after 12 Miles March.

Our

Our next March was to *Bamff*; in our Way thither we came to *Turreff*, a poor little Town, built irregularly on a Hill-side, which made a much better Prospect at a Distance. The chief Manufactory here, as well as at *Old Meldrum*, is Stockings. From hence I passed with the Advanced-Guard over a fine hilly Country, until I came to * *Bamff*, where his Royal Highness gave the Army a Day's Rest.

Here were two Rebel Spies taken; the one was knotching on a Stick the Number of our Forces, for which he was hanged on a Tree in the Town; and the other a little out of Town; and for want of a Tree, was hanged on what they call the Ridging-Tree of a House,

* *Bamff* is a Royal Borough, the first Sea Port Town we came to after we left *Aberdeen*, and situated at the Mouth of the River *Deveron* in the *Boine*, 58 Degrees North Latitude, which divides the Shire of *Bamff* from that of *Buchan*. Before we could enter *Bamff* we were obliged to foord this broad River.

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that projected out from the End, and on his Breast was fix'd, this Inscription.

*All you that does pass by,
Take warning by me, a Rebel Spy,*

which, with the Addition of good *Entertainment*, might have been a very famous Sign.

That Morning the Army marched from *Bamff*; as I quartered two Miles short of it, the Gentleman's Servant where I lodged was sent with me, to conduct me over the Water, and a nigher Way than that of the common Road. Riding along the Path-Way through the Fields, I past by Dr. *Abernethy's* House, who was made Prisoner at *Carlisle*; and as I have been informed since, was condemned to die at *London*, but reprimed for a Time; during which he fell sick and died at a Messenger's House.

I had but just come up with the Army and taken my Station at the Head of the *Duke of Kingston's* Horse, which composed

posed the Van-Guard, when they seed a great Fire burning vehemently, at about a Mile and a half Distant on our Left; the Officers not knowing what it was, I propos'd to go and see; when I came there, I found it to be a *Nonjuring* Meeting-House, set on Fire by a Party of *Kingston's* Horse, that were reconnoitring the Hills. After six Miles March, in our Way to *Cullen*, we came to *Portsoy*, a pretty small Village, with the Sea coming full up to the Town: Here we were joined by the whole Army, which was too numerous to get Quarters, so that the Foot encamped that Night on some ploughed Ground to the Right of the Town, and the Horse lay in the Towns. From *Portsoy* to *Cullen* is three Miles.

Cullen is a small Town, consisting of one Street, at the Entrance of which is a fine Seat belonging to the Earl of *Finlater*, but had been plundered by the Rebels; His Royal Highness quartered here, and the Lord and Lady *Finlater* accompanied the Duke, in all the March

from *Aberdeen* to *Inverness*; here the People are well affected to the Government,

From *Cullen*, our next Day's March was to *Fochabers*, eight Miles: In the Way thither, we pass'd by large barren Mountains on our Left, and then came to some better Land, where we had a pleasant Prospect of our Transports and Men of War, standing in close to the Shore, who discharged some Shot at a Party of Rebel Hussars on the other Side of the *Spey*, which when we came in Sight of, we observed the Rebel Army were assembled with their white Flags displayed, making a formidable Appearance. Our Army continued their March to within half a Mile of the River, when the Duke of *Kingston's* Horse, which was the Advanced-Guard, stop'd for Orders at the Head of a plowed Field, above the Town of *Fochabers*. It was a general Rule that I observ'd during the Campaign, always when an Engagement was expected, that I fed my Horse, by which he was enabled

to go through any hard Service. During the Time we halted here, I rode down a Field to a Man that was plowing Corn, who was Servant to the Duke of *Gordon*, and he fed my Horse. By this Time the Foot with the Cannon came up, when the Rebels set Fire to their Barracks, likewise to their Guard House, which looked as if they did not intend to stand an Engagement. At this Time his Royal Highness gave orders for the Duke of *Kingston's* Horse to advance. Accordingly we marched through the Town of *Pochabers*, which consists mostly of one very long Street, where I observed several good Houses, and People of Fashion standing looking at us; but not one Person to wish us good Success.

We again halted by the River-Side, about 500 Yards above the Ford, for farther Orders (at this Time the Foot were moving down to the Right of *Pochabers*) which we received from the Lord *Antrim*, to continue our March and cross the River. I was then in my Station at the Head of the Regiment, D. d 3 where

where I very narrowly escaped being shot; for some of the Rebels fired at us across the River, kneeling and taking Sight as at a Black Bird: We enter'd the River with a Guide wading on Foot to shew where the Foord lay; which was bad enough, having loose Stones at the Bottom, which made it very difficult for Man or Horse to step without falling the Water Belly-deep and vety rapid; the Foord not lying right a-cross we were obliged to go Midway into the River, then turn to the Right and go down it for about sixty Yards, and then turn to the left inclining upwards to the landing Place; In this Situation, had the Rebels stood us here it might have been of bad Consequence to our Army, they having a great Advantage over us, and might have defended this Important Pass a long Time, to our great Loss; but they wanted to draw our Army over, and farther into their Country, from whence (in their Imagination) we were never to return: When we got up the Banks on the other Side of the River, the Rebels were all fled, and appeared
on

on a Hill about half a Mile Distant, from which they retreated out of Sight, as we advanced: The *Campbells* were the next that followed us, and one of them chanced to get a Shot at a Rebel, and killed his long Tail'd White Horse, on which he had rode about very briskly. Our Army sustained no Loss in crossing the River *Spey*, excepting a Dragoon and a Woman, who fell from a Horse and were drowned. After the Rebels were fled out of Sight, our Foot encamped on the North Side of the *Spey*, and Straw being wanted to bed the Tents, they were obliged to use Barley unthreshed, which was very bad to ly upon; the Horse were ordered to repass the River and quarter in the Town of *Jochabers* (where I had very bad Quarters) and the utmost Precaution was taken to prevent any Surprise.

This Vigilance of his Royal Highness was not without good Effect, as the Rebels then and since have experienced, for though there and at *Nairn*, they made Attempts to steal an Advantage, yet

yet his Royal Highness prevented their Designs. After that his Royal Highness had form'd the necessary Dispositions, he took up his Quarters at the Minister's House on the North-Side of the *Spey*, which had been Lord *John Drummond's* Quarters. After we had done scowring the Hills, I drank a Bottle of very good Ale there, provided at the Rebels Expence; the Gentleman of the House being overjoyed that he had an Opportunity of disposing of it in another Manner than what it was intended for. The Chief and only Ornament in *Fochabers* is *Gordon Castle*, situated nigh the *Spey* Side and was formerly called the *Boag of Gight*, the noblest Palace in this Part of the North, being the Duke of *Gordon's* chief Seat; and is adorned with pleasant Gardens, Park, and fine Canal, with a most agreeable Fountain and Statues, which the Rebels had defaced, by shooting at them for their Diversion.

The River *Spey* produces vast Quantities of Salmon: It is customary for the Highlanders, who live nigh these great Rivers,

Rivers, to make little Boats of Willows, in the Nature of Baskets, and cover them over with Hides; in which they go a fishing; which the Poet remarks thus:

Great *Spey* drives, forward with impetuous Force,
Huge Banks of Sand, and knows no certain Course
Here for a Boat, an Olier Pannier row'd,
By some bold Peasant, glides along the Flood.

Sunday April 13. About Six in the Morning our Troops left *Fochabers*, crossing the *Spey* again, which divides the Shire of *Murray* from that of *Banff*; here I had an Opportunity of observing the Rebels Barracks, which were very long, so that about 2000 Men might sleep in them, built close to a Bank above the River, with Sods, Earth and Sticks, according to their Highland Architecture. As our Army continued their March, the Rebels fled before us; we had a good Road over a level Country to * *Elgin*, and encamped in the Parish

* *Elgin* in *Murray*, is a Royal Borough, pretty large, consisting of one very long Street, and others

Parish of *Alvis*, four Miles on the other Side, which was more hilly; from whence we had a pleasant Prospect of the Sea, it being fine Weather: I rode Part of it twice over that Day; for as I had not been in Bed the Night before, I expected better Repose that Night, and accordingly returned from the Camp to the Town of *Elgin*.

Late in the Evening, a Report was spread in the Town, that 200 Rebels were coming from the *Spey* Side; on which the Lord and Lady *Finlater*, Mr *Gomez*, Commissary of the Bread, and some Volunteers rode directly to the Camp, which gave some small Alarm there, about Twelve at Night. I being unwilling to be beat out of my Quarters by Hearsay Stories, went through the

others shorter, and hath a neat Kirk. It is noted for the Ruins of one of the most frately Cathedral Churches in *Scotland*; most of the Ends and some of the Side Walls are still standing, and many noble Pillars, which shews its former Greatness.

Town

Town to see what Soldiers I could muster, to make a Defence if the Rebels came; but could only meet with ten of the Campbells, who quarter'd at Sir Henry Innes; the Commander of them went with me to enquire into the Particulars of the Story, and we found that it was not without some Foundation; for two Men had made Oath of it, but did not agree in Circumstances; on which he went to bed.

On Monday the 14th, the Army decamp'd early; as I was four Miles behind them, and having a wild Sort of a hilly Country to ride over I should have been glad of Company; but the Campbells who were to wait for some Baggage not then come up, were not ready to march, so that I set out alone, and had not rode far before I was told, that three armed Highland Men were on the Road before me; by this, and what had been reported the Night before, it appeared that there might be some straggling Parties of the Rebels sculking in Corners; and as I had picked up several of them

was

was now in Danger of being serv'd in kind.

At this Time there was a tir'd Soldier on the Road, whom I took up behind me; we had not rode a Quarter of a Mile, when the three Highlanders, I had been told of, appeared; on which I bid the Soldier alight and make ready his Firelock; I likewise primed my Pistols afresh, and when we came close up, desired to know who they were? They told me that they were Deserters from the Rebels, and shewed me their Pass, given them by Order of his Royal Highness, and that they were then going to *Aberdeen*. About this Time, a great many of the Rebels deserted, and went to his Royal Highness with their Arms, who ordered them Protections to go to their Places of Abode! A little farther I overtook another tir'd Soldier, and as I could not carry them both, being unwilling to leave them behind, I order'd them to press two Horses at the first House we came at. We overtook the Army

Army before they were got to * *Forress*, which is eight Miles distant from *Elgin*; here is good Road over an hilly Country, from whence we had a Prospect of the Sea and the Ships in *Findorn* Harbour, a small Sea-Port, four Miles distance from *Forr.fs.*

When we had marched about a Mile of the Road, we were obliged to ford a

* This Borough of *Forress*, is pleasantly situated at the End of several Ridges of Mountains, and is made up of one long Street, with a Kirk, Toll-booth, and the Ruins of an old Castle, which, it's said, the Kings of *Scotland* used to reside in: Just before we enter'd this Town on the Right Hand, we were presented with an Obelisk, a flat Square Pillar of Stone, which rises about 23 Foot above Ground, and is said to be no less than 12 or 14 Foot below, and its Breadth near five; it is all one entire Stone; great Variety of Figures are carved thereon, some of which are distinct and visible, but the Injury of the Weather has obscured those towards the Upper Part; What the Import or Signification of it is, I could not be informed: *Camden* says, it was erected as a Monument of the Fight between King *Malcolm*, Son of *Keneth*, and *Sueno* the Dane. From *Forress* to *Nairn* is eight Miles.

broad and deep River, that disembogues itself into the Sea at *Findorn*, and therefore is called *Findorn-River*: I saw, in crossing here, an Officer's Horse with Baggage carried down the Stream. In this River a great Salmon-Fishery is carried on.

From this to *Nairn* is a very Moorish Country; to the Left of which, we perceived a Body of the Rebels at a Mile Distant, on which we drew up; but perceiving they did not advance, we fell into marching Order until we came within half a Mile of them, and then observing they did not form but kept in a moving Posture, the Duke of *Kingston's* Horse, with four Companies of the *Campbells* were ordered to advance; on this the Rebels fled, and being pursued by some Volunteers, we had a fine Hunting-match after them we took some Prisoners, of whom I had the good Fortune to get two, the one a *Frazer*, who could speak no *English*, and had not the Sense to stand when shot at, until he was cut twice in the Head; the other was a *Montross*

Montro's Man, called *Sanders Stewart* (I heard of him in my return, that he served an Apprenticeship to a Barber there) he told me, that the Rebels were 5000 the Day we crossed the *Spey*, under the Command of Lord *John Drummond*, and that the *Chevalier* and the rest of his Army were then at *Inverness* : After I had got these two Fellows tied together with my Horse-Collar, they prov'd very troublefome to drive, and I had above two Miles over a Moor to go with them to our Army, who were then encamped at * *Nairn* ; which before I entered, I had Occasion to go through that Wing of our Army where the *Old Buffs* were pitching, and my Prisoners were condemned to various Deaths by the *Old Buffs's* Wives. I delivered my Prisoner to the Guard, and in the Evening went and dress'd the wounded Highlander ; by this Time the Quarters were all taken up,

* *Nairn* is a Royal Borough, and an hereditary Sherifffdom of the *Campbells* of *Lorn*, and a small Sea-Port Town.

so, that I did not go to bed the two Nights the Army lay there.

On *Tuesday* the 15th of *April*, 1746, being his Royal Highness the Duke's Birth-Day, the Rebels, to make a Bon-fire on that Occasion, set Fire to and burnt Fort *Augustus*; and expecting to find us merry, they marched in two Columns to attack us in our Camp, the one under the Command of Lord *George Murray*, the other under Lord *Lewis Gordon*, but they not arriving in due Time, our Men being got under Arms, they returned without making us a Visit.

On the 16th, we marched from *Nairn*, betwixt Four and five in the Morning, with our Foot divided into three Columns, of five Battalions each; The Artillery and Baggage followed the first Column on the Right; our Cavalry covered the Left Wing, and composed the Fourth Column: After we had marched about eight Miles, our advanced-Guard perceived the Rebels at some Distance

Distance, making a Motion towards us on the Left. This was a Point we imagined the Rebels would strive to gain, as we had the Sea on our Right, and the Hills on our Left; therefore this Rule was observed in all our Marches, that the Horse covered the Left Wing. On Notice of the Rebels Approach, we immediately formed; but finding they were yet a good Way off and that their whole Body did not move forwards, we put ourselves into marching Order as before, and continued it until within half a Mile of them, where we made a Stand to reconnoitre their Situation and form our Army; we having a Morass on our Right, which secured our Right Flank, the two Regiments of Dragoons covered our left in order to fall upon the Rebels Right; *Kingston's* Horse were ordered to the Reserve; four Companies of our Highlanders were on the Left with the Dragoons, the other Eight were ordered to guard the Baggage; the ten Pieces of Cannon were disposed two in each of the intervals of the first Line; and in this Disposition we continued for about half an

Hour. As I had the Honour of being a Volunteer under his Royal Highness, and of Consequence at Liberty to chuse my own Station, I had taken Post in the Front of Lord *Cobham's* Dragoons; when the Lord *Ancram* was pleased to ask me, If I charged there to Day? as knowing that I had at several Times before joined the Duke of *Kingston's* Horse. I told his Lordship, That I intended to take my Chance with that Regiment To Day. His Lordship then wished me good Success. During the Time we remained in this Position, I observed a Man standing by the End of a House, about half Way between the Rebels Army and ours, whom I supposed to be a Rebel reconnoitering us; on which I drew one of my Pistols and was riding off towards him; but being called back by Major *Sheban*, to know where I was going I turn'd and told him, pointing to the Man; he desired me to take Care how I came up to that House, for as I did not know what Number of Rebels might be in it, I was in Danger of being shot; but as I was a Volunteer, he said, he would

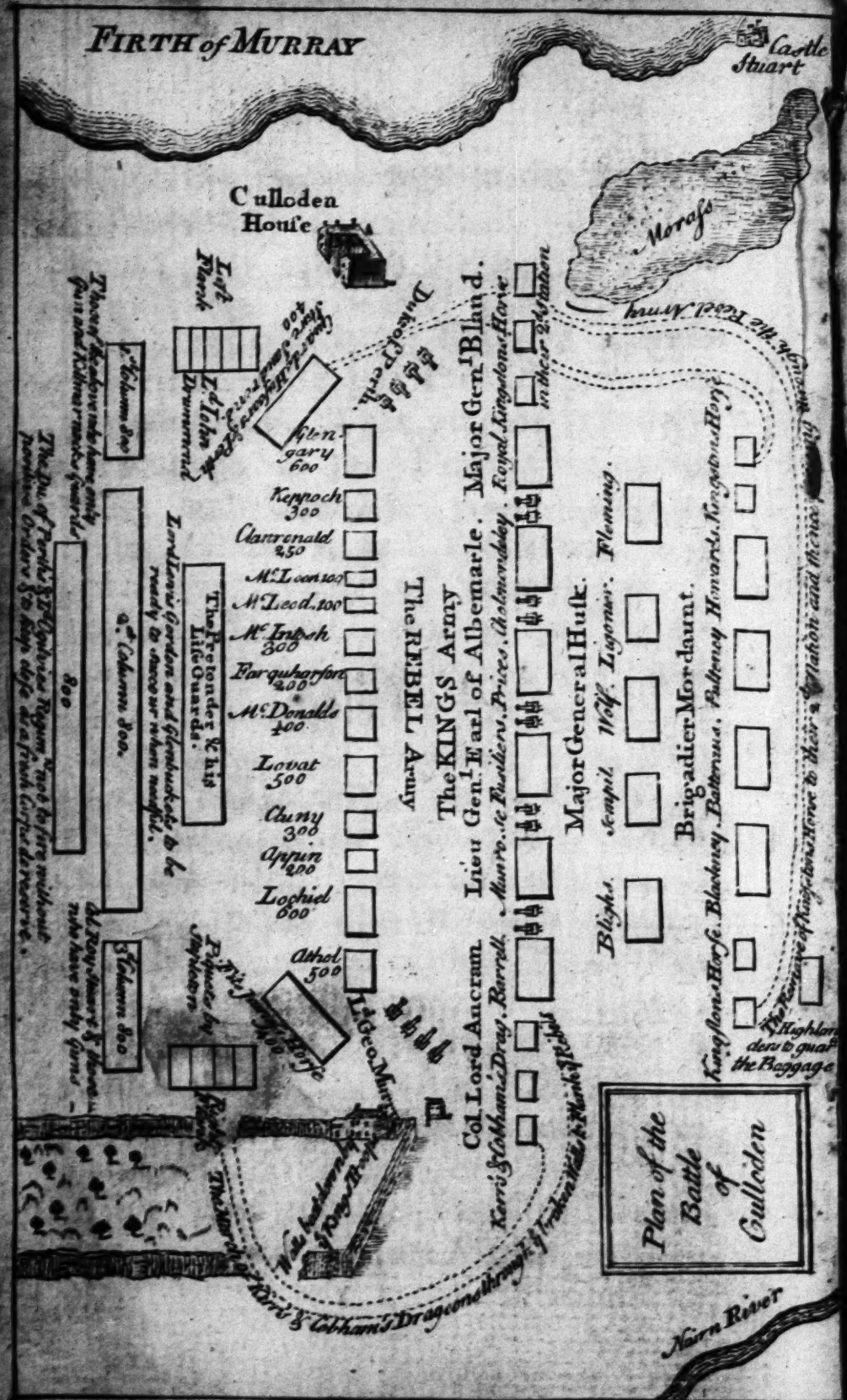
would not hinder me to proceed; however, he cautioned me not to go beyond it, for that I might be in Danger of being taken Prisoner. I humbly thanked him for the Care he had for me and gallop'd off; but when I came to the House, I found none there but the Man who lived in it, who appeared to be a Friend, and gave me what Information he could. Between our Lines and that House I could gallop my Horse all the Way, but the Ground forward appeared to be soft and marshy: I had there a good View of the Rebels, who were formed into a Line, with *Cuthbert-House* on their Left, and their Right extended to a Park-Wall, within which it appeared to be good hard Ground. I saw them close to the Right, as if they intended to bring their greatest Strength there; on which I returned to my Station, and gave an Account of what Observations I had made: At which Time his Royal Highness was pleased to address the Officers and Soldiers who were nearest to him (and ordered it to be published through

through the Battalions) in the following Manner:

Gentlemen and Fellow-Soldiers,

“ I have but little Time to address
 “ myself to you ; but I think proper to
 “ acquaint you, That you are instantly
 “ to engage in the Defence of your
 “ King and Country, your Religion,
 “ your Liberties, and Properties; and
 “ thro’ the Justice of your Cause, I
 “ make no Doubt of leading you on to
 “ certain Victory. Stand but firm, and
 “ your Enemies will soon fly before you.
 “ But if there be any among you, who
 “ through Timidity, are id fludent of
 “ their Courage, or Behaviour, which
 “ I have not the least Reason to suspect
 “ or any others, who through Consci-
 “ ence or Inclination cannot be zealous
 “ or alert in performing their Duty;
 “ it is my Desire, that all such would
 “ immediately retire. And I further de-
 “ clare, that they shall have my free
 “ Pardon for so doing; for I had much
 “ rather be at the Head of One Thous-
 “ and brave and resolute Men, than Ten
 “ Thousand

4 JY 59 .



"Thousand amongst whom there are some
"who, by cowardice or Misbehaviour,
"may dispirit or disorder the Troops,
"and so bring Dishonour and Disgrace
"on an Army under my Command."

At this Time our Army being formed,
we moved to the House at which I had
been; near which was the Place of Ac-
tion; and finding that the Morass on
our Right was ended, which left that
Flank uncovered, the Rebels outstretch-
ing us, his Royal Highness immediately
ordered *Pultney's* Regiment from the
Reserve to the Right of the *Royals*, and
Kingston's Horse, with about sixty of
Cobham's, who had been patrolling to
cover the Right Flank, commanded by
Major-General *Bland*; the Left Flank
was commanded by the Lord *Ancram*;
the Center by the Earl of *Albemarle*;
the second Line by Major-General *Husk*;
the Reserve by Brigadier *Mordaunt*;
and his Royal Highness the Duke of
Cumberland, by whose Direction our
Army was form'd, was on the Right;
and Lieutenant-General *Hawley* on the
Left.

Left. In this Disposition, some Time was spent in striving who should gain the Plank ; in which Interval a heavy Shower of Rain came on, which was very discouraging, remembering the *Falkirk* Affair ; but now we had the Wind which was of some Comfort.

His Royal Highness having sent Lord *Bury* forward, within a Hundred Paces of the Rebels, to reconnoitre something that appear'd like a Battery, found it to be several old Walls ; behind which the Rebels were posted, and from whence, about One o'Clock, they began to Fire upon us with their Cannon. At this Instant the Weather grew fair : But their Cannon being ill served, and as badly pointed, did us little or no Damage. Ours joined in Concert, which made a strange Slaughter-house of the Rebels Battery, and began their Confusion : They not liking that Way of fighting, came running forward in their furious wild Way on our Right, where his Royal Highness had placed himself to receive them, imagining the greatest Push

Push would be there. They came down
 three several Times within a hundred
 Yards of our Men, firing their Pistols and
 brandishing their Swords: but our brave
 Soldiers appear'd as if they took little
 Notice of their Bravado's. After those
 feint Attempts, they made off, and im-
 mediately their whole first Line came
 down upon our Left. Their Right some-
 what out-flanked *Barrel's* Men, which
 was our Left; but *Bligh's* and *Empie's*
Regiments, from the second Line, gave
 a smart Fire upon those that out-flanked
Barrel's, and soon repulled them: Then
 a Body of the Rebels threw away their
 Muskets, and engaged *Barrel's* Men
 Sword in Hand, in a noisy, confus'd,
 tumultuous Manner, and pressed so hard,
 that they made a small Breach in *Barrel's*
 first Line; which was in an Instant made
 up. They killed Lord *Robert Kerr*,
 and seventeen of our Men there. But
 the Rebels paid dear for this rash attack
 for of about 500 of them who enter'd
 this Breach, I believe there was not a
 single Man that escaped. During this,
General Hawley, with four Companies
 of

of the brave *Campbells*, had broke down the Walls of a Park-Lyke (at which Place we lost two Captains and five private Men of that Party) through which our Dragoons passed, under the Command of Lord *Ancram*: At the same Time an Officer with a Party of Lord *Mark Kerr's* Dragoons, were sent to dislodge a Party of the Rebels that lay lurking under the Walls, firing at us, where three of them were killed. We lost but one of Lord *Cobham's* Men, who was shot close by me, at the Rising of the Hill, where we fell upon the Right Flank of the Rebels second Line, while *Kingston's* Horse, who behaved well in the Action, with sixty of *Cobham's* Dragoons, wheel'd on their Left, being led by Major-General *Bland*; then we soon knocked off many of their Bonnets; at the Sight of which, their Mock Prince wheel'd off and fled and his Clans followed him; so that he had then the honour of being in the Front, which he led on with so much Courage, that he crossed the River at the nearest Place, to the Hazard of drowning, and never stop'd
nor

nor look'd behind him until he got to *Aird*, Lord *Lovat's* House; where he staid all Night. His Royal Highness gave Orders for Lord *Angus* to pursue with the Horse, and there was much knapping of Noddles; which he did with so good Effect, that above 500 were killed in the Pursuit, and a great many Officers and Soldiers were taken Prisoners. In their Flight I came up with a pretty young Highlander, who call'd out to me, Hold your Hand, I'm a *Campbell*. On which I asked him, where's your Bonnet? He reply'd, Somebody hath snatch'd it off my Head. I only mention this to shew how we distinguish'd our loyal Clans from the Rebels; they being dress'd and equip'd all in one Way, except the Bonnet; ours having a Red or Yellow Cross of Cloath or Ribbon; theirs a White Cockade: He having neither of these Distinctions, I desired him, if he was a *Campbell*, to follow me, and I would have him taken Care of, being slightly wounded, which he promised; but on the first Opportunity gave me the Slip.

This Day's Action was crowned with a most glorious Victory ; which I think would have been more compleat, had their Mock Prince, with all his Clans, engaged us : It also would have saved the Trouble of much hanging afterwards, and of Consequence been a Loss to the Hempen-Manufacture ; for as there were but two of our Foot Regiments on the Left of our Front-Lines engaged, all the Rest of the Officers and Soldiers had very little Share in the Action, who desir'd nothing more than a general Engagement, every one of them being in high Spirits, and willing to exert themselves in their several Stations. Who could do otherwise, when animated by the Presence of so brave a Commander ? that ordered all the Dispositions, perhaps, as just as the mind of Man could conceive ; whilst the Rebels minded very little Order or Discipline, throwing down their Firelocks, and engaging with their Broad-Swords, in a wild, confus'd Manner, against our Soldiers Payonets, who were also supported by a quick and well-timed Fire playing upon those giddy Rebels. In the

the End, our Firelock and Bayonet, so far exceeded their Broad-Sword and Target, that there were killed of the Rebels that Day in the Field of Battle, and in the Pursuit, above 2000, whilst our Loss in the whole did not exceed 50 killed. We likewise took all their Artillery and Baggage, consisting of 22 Pieces of Cannon, and 8 Swivels, 190 Broad-Swords, 2500 Muskets, 1500 Musket-Cartridges, 1019 Cannon-Shot, 500 Weight of Musket-Shot, 27 Barrels of Gunpowder, with 22 Ammunition Carts, &c. We also took 350 Prisoners; but if we had known that they had receiv'd strict Orders before the Battle to give the Duke's Troops no Quarter, we should not have troubled ourselves with making so many Prisoners.

The Prisoner of the greatest Note taken that Day, was the unhappy Lord *Kilmarnock*. Four of their principal Ladies also fell into our Hands, *viz.* Lady *Ogilvie*, Lady *Gordon*, Lady *Kinloch*, and Lady *Mackintosh*, who was the Head of the Clan of that

F f 2

Name.

Name. The Ladies, after Tea, were preparing to dress for a Ball in the Evening, expecting the Rebels had gain'd the Victory; but the King's Red-Coats were so rude as to interrupt them, and lead them up a Dance they did not expect.

The Rebels had order'd the Inhabitants of *Inverness* to provide all the Oatmeal they could spare, and with it bake Bannocks for their Suppers, against their Return from the Victory; but their Disappointment was very pleasing to us, who came to eat it in their Stead; many of them having lost their Stomachs, and gone to bed Supperless: After the Pursuit was mostly over, and we were on our March to *Inverness*, Major General *Bland* receiv'd a Letter from a *French* Officer to this Effect.

Inverness, April, 16, 1719.
 Evening. expecting the Rebels had
 gain'd the Victory, but the

SIR,
 THE French Officers and Sol-
 diers who were at *Inverness*,
 surrender themselves Prisoners to his
 Royal Highness the Duke of *Cum-*
berland, and hope for every Thing
 which is to be expected from the Eng-
 lish Generosity.

Sign'd,
Cusack,
Murphy,
Le Marquis de Giles,
Dehan,
D'Obrian,
Macdonald.

' To the Commanding Officer of the
 ' Troops under his Royal Highness the
 ' Duke of *Cumberland*.'

*Translation of the Parole of Honour,
sign'd by the Officers in the French
King's Service.*

WE the Under-written, in the
Service of his Most Christian
Majesty, acknowledge ourselves Prisoners of War of his *Britannick* Majesty; and we engage ourselves, upon our Parole of Honour, not to go out of the Town of *Inverness*, without a Permission from his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland*. In Witness whereof we have sign'd this, and have hereunto set the Seal of our Arms.

Done at the Head Quarters at Inverness, the 17th of April, 1746

The above was sign'd by about forty of the principal Officers.

A Copy

*A Copy of the Rebels Orders before the
Battle of Culloden, found in the
Pocket of one of the Prisoners.*

PAROLE. ROY JAKUES.

‘ IT is his Royal Highness’s positive
‘ Orders, that every Person attach
‘ himself to some Corps of the Army
‘ and remain with the Corps Night and
‘ Day, until the Battle and Pursuit be
‘ finally over, and to give no Quarter to
‘ the Elector’s Troops on any Account
‘ whatsoever : This regards the Foot
‘ as well as the Horse. The Order of
‘ Battle is to be given to every General-
‘ Officer, and every Commander of a
‘ Regiment or Squadron. It is requir-
‘ ed and expected of each Individual in
‘ the Army, as well Officer as Soldier,
‘ that he keep the Post he shall be al-
‘ lotted ; and if any Man turn his Back
‘ to run away, the next behind such
‘ Man is to shoot him. No Body,
‘ upon Pain of Death, is to strip the
‘ Slain;

' Slain, or plunder, until the Battle
' is over. The Highlanders to be in
' Kilts, and no Person to throw away
' their Guns.'

Sign'd,

George Murray.

Lieutenant-General.

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RE-

RETURN of the Number
of Officers and Men in
each Battalion of the
King's Army, the Day
of the Battle of Culloden.

	Field Officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Serjeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.
Royal Scots,	2	5	19	28	25	401
Lieut. Gen. Howard's,	2	4	10	21	14	413
Leut. Gen. Barrell's,	2	5	13	18	10	325
Maj Gen. Wolfe's,	1	7	14	17	11	324
Maj. Gen. Pulteney's,	2	6	14	23	19	410
Brig. Gen. Price's,	2	7	14	21	11	304
Brig. Gen. Bligh's,	2	5	13	22	13	412
Maj. Gen. Campbell's,	1	5	13	21	14	358
Brig. Gen. Semple's,	3	5	15	20	14	420
Brig. Gen. Blakeney's,	2	4	14	24	12	300
Brig. G. Cholmondeley's,	2	7	15	21	15	399
Brig. Gen. Fleming's,	2	6	18	25	14	350
Col. Dejean's,	2	6	15	23	19	426
Col. Conway's,	3	5	16	21	16	425
Col. Batteran's,	1	7	19	24	18	454

29 84 222 329 225 5721

RETURN of the Killed and Wounded, at the Battle of
Culloden, April 16, 1746.

Barrell's, Capt. Lord Robert Kerr, killed; Lieut. Col. Rich, Capt. Romers, Lieutenant Edmonson, Ensigns Campbell and Brown, wounded.

Wolfe's, Ensign Bruce, wounded.

Price's, Capt. Grossette, killed; Capt. Simpson, w.

Bligh's, Lieutenant Trapaud, wounded.

Dejean's, Capt. Kinneer; Lieuts. King and Lort; Ensigns Dally and Mundock, wounded.

Conway's, Capt. Carter, wounded.

Loudon's, Capt. John Campbell, wounded, and since d.

Militia, Capt. Collin Campbell, wounded, and since d.

Rank

Rank and File Officers included.

	<i>Killed.</i>	<i>Wounded.</i>
Royal Scots, ———	0	
Lieut. Gen. Howard's, —	1	4
Lieut. Gen. Barrell's, —	17	2
Maj. Gen. Wolfe's, —	0	108
Maj. Gen. Pulteney's, —	0	1
Brig. Price's, ———	1	0
Brig. Bligh's, ———	4	9
Maj. Gen. Campbell's, —	0	17
Brig. Lord Semples, —	1	7
Maj. Gen. Blakeney's, —	0	13
Brig. Cholmondeley's, —	1	0
Brig. Fleming's, ———	0	2
Col. Dejean's, ———	14	6
Col. Conway's, ———	1	68
Col. Batteran's, ———	0	5
———	——	3
Total 40		245
<i>Artillery,</i> ———	0	1 <i>Gunner.</i>
<i>Lord London's,</i> ———	0	5 <i>Men.</i>
<i>Argyleshire Militia,</i> —	0	3
<i>Kingston's Horse,</i> ———	0	1
<i>Ld. Cobham's Drag.</i> —	1	1
<i>Ld. Mark Kerr's Drag.</i> —	3	0
———	——	3
Total 50		250
		<i>Missing</i> 1

H O R S E S

	<i>Killed.</i>	<i>Wounded.</i>
<i>Kingston's</i> ———	2	
<i>Cobham's</i> ———	4	1
<i>Lord Mark Kerr's</i> ———	5	5
———	——	15

The

The Day after the Battle, we were amused with a Report that the Rebels would stand another Battle, having a 1000 Men at *Badenoch*, who had not joined them at the Engagement; but we were afterwards informed, that on holding a Council of War, it was agreed, as they had neither Money, Arms, nor Ammunition, all of them were to fight for themselves. Brigadier *Mordaunt* was detach'd into the *Frazer's* Country, with 900 Foot, where he got great Numbers of Cattle, and a Quantity of Oatmeal, that was designed for the Use of the Rebels: He went likewise to Lord *Lovat's* House, that Nest and Cage of unclean Birds, where much Treason and Rebellion had been hatch'd; he only found the Nest, for the Birds were flown, however he thought proper to purge it from all Pollutions by Fire.

The Rebels being now dispersed all over the Highlands, and skulking in secret Corners, Detachments were sent from the Duke's Army, and encamped at different Places for the greater Safety of the

the Country, and Conveniency of apprehending the Rebels, of which they sent in great Numbers ; so that all the Goals were soon full of Prisoners, notwithstanding the great Number that was shipp'd off for *Newcastle*. His Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland* was pleased to give his Protection to as many as returned to their Obedience, by coming in and delivering up their Arms ; who were at Liberty to go to their Places of Abode.

I will next proceed to give an Account of another memorable Defeat, which, on the 15th, one of their Chiefs, the Earl of *Cromartie*, receiv'd by some of the loyal Clans. Vengeance being pronounced against Lord *Ray* and his People, on account of the *Hazard* Sloop, already taken Notice of ; the Earl of *Cromartie* was sent with a Detachment to destroy his Country with Fire and Sword ; but he was himself surpriz'd and made Prisoner at *Dun-Robin* Castle, in the Manner following : After Lord *Ray*'s People had surprized the Crew of the *Hazard* Sloop, and was reinforced by some of
the

the *Monroes*, and the Lord *Sutherland's* Militia, they engaged the Earl at *Golfpy*, and took him and his Son the Lord *Macleod*, &c. Prisoners.

Ensign *John Mackay*, of the Earl of *Sutherland's* Militia, having kept a private Intelligence with some Person in his Lordship's House at *Dun-Robin*, he gave me an Account of their setting out for the intended Destruction of *Mackay* informed the loyal Clans thereof, who toward off this threatened Blow, assembled and posted themselves in private Places; the Rebels pursuing their Design, past them undiscovered, and was followed by the Earl and some other Chiefs. *Mackay* having received the proper Signal from the Top of the Tower of that House, ran with 26 Men down to the Water of *Golfpy*; as the Body of the Rebels, consisting of about 400, had marched some Distance before Lord *Cromartie*, &c. *Mackay* with his Men got betwixt the Officers and the main Body, and by firing briskly on them, drove the Officers to *Dun-Robin*; who

secured the Gates, and by ringing a Bell on the Tower, and displaying a white Flag, gave the Alarm to their Men to return to their Relief. In the mean Time *Mackay* having dispatched five Men to call the loyal Clans from their different Stations to his Assistance, fell upon the Rebels in their Return to *Dun-Robin*, who perceiving the Militia coming down from the Hills in such Numbers, and despairing of Success, directly made the best of their Way to the little Ferry; but Lord *Sutherland's* Men pursued them so close that by drowning and firing, they killed about fifty of them, and took 16. Prisoners; after which they returned to *Dun-Robin*, where *Mackay* directly asked Leave to speak to the Earl of; *Cromartie*; which being granted, he told him plainly, That if he did not surrender the House, the Numbers that were without would blow it up. Lord *Cromartie* asked half an Hour to consider of it; but on finding that his Men were mostly kill'd or taken, and that it was impossible for him and his small Party to hold out, the Gate

was opened, and Lord Sutherland's Men took Possession of the House, disarmed and made Prisoners the Earl and those with him, and immediately sent a Letter of Advice to Capt. Dove, of the *Hound* Man of War, who received all the Prisoners, and brought them to the Camp at *Inverness*.

List of the Names of the principal Prisoners taken in Sutherland, on April 15, who were embark'd on board his Majesty's Sloop the Hound, Capt. Dove.

The Earl of *Cromartie*.
 Lord *Macleod*, Son to the E. of *Cromartie*
 Lieut. Col. *Rendal*, in the *Spanish Service*.
 Capt. *Mackenzie*, Brother to *Ba'ion*.
 Capt. *Roderick Mackulloch*, of *Glasgow*.
 Lt. *Alex. Mackenzie*, B. to *Dunzonald*.
 Lt. *Alex. Mackenzie*, of *Corry*.
 George St. Clair, of *Gees*.
 Hector Campbell of *Caithness*.
 Hector Mackenzie.
 Lt. James Macrac, in the *Spanish Service*; and 153 private Men.

Thus I have given a just, impartial, and, I hope a satisfactory Account of the Rebellion, from its first Rise, until the decisive Battle at *Culloden Moor*: After which, our Foot encamped near *Inverness*, and the Horse quartered in the Town and adjacent Villages, which we found generally very ill provided; the Rebel Army being there so long, had occasioned a Consumption of the Victuals; neither was there any Drink to be had but Water; that in the River *Ness* coming off a Brimstone Mineral, and not agreeing with those that are not accustomed to it, threw many of our Men into a Flux: Whereupon Proclamation was made for any that had Malt to get it brewed; but at that Time there was none to be found, neither were there any Markets; but it was not long before there was an Alteration for the better; the Weekly Markets being now supplied with Flesh, fresh or salted in the Hide of the Beast, and extream bad Goats-Milk-Cheese. Here you may have Butter of several Colours, which is brought to the Market in the Membranes that

that hold the Calves : Further in the Country, when Cow-cleaning is scarce, they have an artful Way of making it up in Rolls or Balls, bound in Straw-Ropes : For the Quality it is salted up in little Dishes that hold about two or three Pounds ; if fresh it is entirely so, and called Sweet Butter then the Salt is brought with it to the Table, where you may season it to your Palate ; you may likewise have fresh Hung-Beef ; for it is customary in the Highlands when the Cattle die, to hang the Hinder-Quarters, (I cannot say in the Chimney, because there is none) in the Sinoak near the Fire, without Salt. As the Weather became more warm, it brought still greater Plenty ; for you might see the Highland-men coming over the Hills, with Milk of several Sorts, as Sheep, Goat, Cows, &c. which they carry on their Backs in a Goat-Skin, with the Hinder-Foot over each Shoulder, held in their Hands and a small Wooden Piggon, that floats in the Milk, with which they measure it out to their Customers. The nicer of them has a more ingenious Way

Way of carrying the Goat-Skin, by the two Fore Legs ; and as their is naturally a Hole at the other End, in which they affix a Tap, it is followed by a *Cruidy*, i. e. a Boy with his Pigger, who draws the Milk off as Occasion requires.

I shall only at present mention one other Piece of their Ingenuity ; which is, that they can boil a Quarter of Flesh, whether Mutton, Veal, Goat or Deer, in the Paunch of the Beast, which is preparing by cutting it open and turning it in-side out ; by this Method it is made clean ; then they affix it with Secuers on a Hoop ; to this they tie a String or a Thong, cut from the Skin of the Beast, and by this Thong they hang it over the Fire.

The Highlanders have been reckoned an indolent People ; although, by what I have said, it may appear that they are ingenious and industrious ; for the Truth of which I appeal to any of our Military Gentlemen, who have had the Honour
to

to serve the Government in that Part of the World. But as these are Secrets that have not been known in *England*, I should not have divulged them without a Patent, or at least some valuable Consideration; and especially, since the Rebels have failed in their Scheme of establishing the Pretender; for had they succeeded, in all Probability, there would have been a Colony of those *Norwegians* planted in the South, who might have taught our good Women their Way of Housewifry, and Cookery. Our Mechanicks might likewise have been instructed in their Arts as to Building, &c. The Highland Houses are very oddly erected, and the Inhabitants are generally their own Architects, which they perform with very few Materials, being chiefly composed of Clods of Peat, Stones, Sticks, Broom or Ling. They have generally two Apartments in their Houses (I mean the common People) by Means of a slight Partition; one End they lie in themselves, having a Fire in the Middle; as to Chimnies, as I have already said, they have none: There is
sometimes

sometimes a little Hole left open in the Top of the House for the Smoaks exit ; other Times it is in the End, but most frequently the Door performs this Office. The other Apartment is the Cow-Parlour for their Oxen, Calves, &c. and is seldom used otherwise, except at Weddings or Christenings, when they can very readily remove the Partition, and lay Boards propt up with Butments of Clods, for a Table ; which they cover with green Rushes or Hether Tobs, and strew the Floor with the same.

Their Cattle are exceeding small, but very sweet Meat when in good Order : A full grown Ox is not much bigger than one of our Calves of a Year old. The Smell of the Cattles Dung, which is generally very thick about the House, and their Peat-Fire, I suppose, contribute not a little to keep them in health, but not free from the Itch, which is very common here, although not regarded ; for they seldom mind to cure it any other Way than by their Dumb Musick (being always provided with that

that Instrument) which they have a very good Knack of playing, and would be much more diverting to Strangers, if it was not for fear of being presented with the Fiddle.

The Highlanders, in all Reigns, have been remarkable for disturbing the established Government of *Scotland*, by taking up Arms on every Invasion for the Invaders; had they been employed at such Times in Defence of their Country, it would have shewn a noble Spirit; on the contrary, they have been the Ring-leaders and chief Promoters of all Rebellions, and of bringing Ruin and Destruction upon the Place of their Nativity.

As I proposed to give a particular Account of the Highlanders, what is wanting from my own Observations, I may venture to supply from so worthy an Author as Mr. *Buchanan*, who has formerly well described them as follows.

In

In their Diet, Apparel, and Household Furniture, they follow the Parsimony of the Ancients; they provide their Diet by fishing and hunting, and boil their Flesh, as I have already said, in the Paunch or Skin of the Beast: While they hunt they eat it raw, after squeezing out the Blood; and when they bleed their Cattle, which is generally twice a Year, they with great Care preserve the Blood, which they mix with Oat-Meal to eat, and is esteemed by them a most nourishing Dish. Their Drink is Meat-Broth or Whey, of which they have Plenty at their Entertainments; but most of them drink Water. They also brew Ale, which is generally drank (in the Lowlands as well as here) the same Day 'tis brewed. Their Bread is a Composition of Oats and Barley, the only Grain which their Country produces, which they likewise prepare after various Forms with Water sometimes boiled, but mostly raw; they eat a little of this in the Morning, and contenting themselves therewith through Necessity, hunt, or go about their Business, without eating any
more

more until Night; when they travel far from Home, they carry a Bag of Oat-Meal, and a little Fish, with which, when they are hungry they take up some Water at the first Brook they come to, stir in some Meal with their Finger, and sup it up; by the Help of which they can out-travel many Horses. They delight most in Cloaths of several Colours, especially strip'd: And the Colours they are fondest of are Purple and Blue. Their Ancestors, as many of them do still, made use of Plaids, very much variegated; but now they make them rather of dark Colours, more like the Crops of Heath, that they may not be discovered while they lie in Heaths waiting for Game. Bei g rather wrapped up, than covered with these Plaids, they endure all the Rigour of the Season; and sometimes sleep covered all over with Snow. At Home they lie upon the Ground, having under them Fern or Heath, covered with a Sheet or Blanket, the latter laid with the Roots undermost, so that it is almost as soft as Feathers, and much more healthful;

ful; for the Quality of Heath being to draw out superfluous Humours; when they lie down weary and faint upon it at Night, they rise fresh and vigorous in the Morning. They affect this hard Way of sleeping, and whenever they happen to come into any Place where there is better Accomodations, they pull the Covering off the Bed, and lie down upon it wrapped in their Plaids, lest they should be spoiled by what they call a barbarous Effeminacy. They go naked from below the Knee, to the Mid-Thigh, wearing a Broad-Sword, Dirk, and Pistol at their Girdle; and a Target at their Shoulder. They are desperate in Fight, fierce in Conversation, apt to quarrel, mischievous, and even Murders in their Passion. * The old Scots Language, call'd

* Sir James Dalrymple, in his Observation on Camden's Britannia, represents them thus. ' The Inhabitants of these Regions commonly called ' Highland-men, who being the unmixed Pro- ' geny, of the ancient Scots, speaks Irish or ' Erse, and call themselves Albanick, in Braid ' Albin, their Bodies are firmly and compactly ' made

call'd *Earse*, has lost so much Ground by
the spreading of the *English* in *Scot land*,
H h ever

made, with all Strong and nimble of Foot, high minded bred in Warlike Exercises being Invured to Robberies on their Neighbours, and upon a hatred most desperately forward to take revenge, many Gentlemen in the *Highlands* shun one anothers Company, lest they should revie a Quarrel that happen'd between their Forefathers, Perhaps three Hundred Years ago. They are also as warm in their Friendship; for if they meet with one in Amity, with their own Clan, be it in any foreign Country, they immediately contract the most Intimate Friendship: They are divided unto Kindreds and Families which they call Clans, and are so united to the Cause of their particular Clans, that there is an Act of Parliament, that if any of a Clan does a Mischief, the whole Clan is answerable for it, and they must either deliver up the Aggressor, or the first Man of the Clan that is apprehended Suffer for it: and the whole Clan bears Feud, or Hurt, received by any one Member of it: The *Macdonalds* are much the powerful of all the Clans. They are divided into four Classes, and Inhabit distinct Countries. The *Macdonald* of *Glengerey*, dwell upon the *Lochness*; the *Macdonalds* of *Slate*, in *Lochaber*, and the Isle of *Sky*; the Captain of *Clan Ronald*, and *Macdonald* of *Keppoch*, and those of *Kintyre* towards *Argyleshire*. The other Clans, *Clan-Katin*, *Clan-Cameron*, the *Mackean's* and many other

ever since the *Norman* Conquest, that
 'tis now confined to the Highlands and
 the

other *Mac's*; altho' Independent one of another, yet are entirely guided by the *Macdonalds*, who have been so powerful, as often to assume the Name of Kings of the *Isles*, and one of them, in 1461, enter'd into a League with *Edward IV.* of *England*, against the King of *Scotland*, *Robert* the first of the *Stuarts* King of *Scotland*, Married his Daughter *Margaret* to *Macdonald*, Lord of the *Isles*; to secure him in his Interest, but all would not do; they were the common disturbers of the Nation, till *James* the V. privately with a Body of Men took Shipping, and landed in every Clan and Island, and brought them in Person to his Obedience, making them give Hostages for their good Behaviour; here it will be proper just to take Notice of two or three Acts passed in the Reign of King *GEORGE I.* which not a little Contributed to the reforming of the *Highlands*, viz. (1.) 1 *Geo. Chap. 20.* An Act for encouraging all Superiors, Vassals, Landlords, and Tenants, who continue Loyal to King *GEORGE*. (2.) 1 *Geo. Chap. 54.* An Act enjoining, that the Personal Services and Attendance which was wont to be paid to the Heads of Clans and Owners of Estates, at the Pleasure of such Chiefs, under the Names of Personal Attendance, Hosting, Hunting, Watching and Warding shall be for the future paid in Money annually; and the said personal

the Isles, where most of the People of Note do also understand and speak *English*.

Mr *Mackay* tells us, that the *Highlanders* differ as much from the *Lowlanders*, in their Dress, Manner, and Language, as the *Indians* in *Mexico* do from the *Spaniards*; that the old *Scots* Language is here spoken in its nature

fonal Service, &c. Shall be utterly annulled; This Act was farther enforced in the 11th of the same Reign, Chap. 26. on the Non-observance of the former by Many of the contemptuous *Highlanders*. (3.) 1 Geo. 1. Chap. 54. An Act for the more effectual securing of the *Highlands* in *Scotland*, Which enacted, That no Person within the said *Highlands*, shall use or bear Broad Sword or Terget, Ponyard, Wingar, or Dirk, Side Pistol or Gun, or any Warlike Weapon in the Field, or in the Way, to, or from any Church, Market, Fair, Burial, Huntings, Meetings, &c. However not to extend to Noblemen, Officers of Justice or Commoners, having yearly 400 l. *sterl.* or who are otherwise Qualified to Vote at Elections for Parliament, allowing to every such Commoner two Firelocks, two Pair of Pistols, and two Swords, and the Magistrates of the Royal Burghs may keep Arms in Magazines.

Purity, and witten in the genuine Characters, which is more like the *Greek*, or *Hebrew*; than the *Roman*: Whereas the *Welch*, though they have perserved their Language, yet have entirely lost their old Character, and write in the *Roman*.

April 21, Mr *Grant*, with 800 of his Followers, join'd the Duke at * *Inverness*, who order'd them to be quarter'd in the *Mackintoshes* Country. At the same Time they delivered up to his Royal Highness the Lord *Balmerino*, who after the Battle of *Dumblain* in 1715, deserted to the Rebels at *Perth*. He was then Captain *Elphinstone*, of *Shannon's* Regiment of Foot.

On

Inverness or *Innerness*, is but a small, dirty, poor Place, although the Capital of the *Highlands*, built close along the Banks of the River *Ness* from *Lochness*. From that River, and from *Enner*, which, in the old *Scots* Language, signifies an *Harbour*, the Town and Country derives its Name. It lies in a great Hollow, which joins the *Murray Frith*. At the Key, there is a very Com-
modious

On the 28th, all the *French* Prisoners were shipp'd for *Newcastle*. Almost all the Pretender's Servants came and submitted to the Duke ; and as they were *French*, and had not been with him before he came to *France*, his Royal Highness gave them Passports to go home.

H h 3

Lord

modious Harbour for small Shipping ; and those of the largest Burthen, at a little Distance, may ride in Safety ; and lies convenient for Trade. It is a Royal Burgh, and a Seat of the Sheriff, and of a Presbytery, containing ten Parishes. It stands on the South side of the *Ness*, over which is a Bridge of hewn Stone, with seven Arches, in the Butement of one of which is a Goal, or Place of Confinement, with an Iron Trap Door going down into it. It has two tolerable good Streets, and two Churches, one for the *English*, and the other for the *Irish*, or what they call *Earse*; for in this Town, both Languages are spoken indifferently among the Rich as well as the Poor. Near to the Bridge, upon a Pleasant Hill, are the Ruins of a Castle, which was formerly the Residence of the Kings of *Scotland*, and from whence there is a fine Prospect of the Town, the Ships in the Harbour, and of the adjacent Countries. The Duke of *Gordon* was hereditary Constable both of the Castle and of its Superiorities. It has of late been rebuilt and call'd Fort *George*, which was a great

Lord *Sutherland* remained with 900 of his People in the Head of the *Fraziers* Country. Lord *Loudon*, with 1300 Men, were in the Isle of *Sky*, and ordered by his Royal Highness to land in the Country of the *Glenronolds*, and to march up towards *Fort-Augustus*. It lies amongst the Mountains half Way between *Inverness* and *Fort-William*, which is on the Sea-Shore in the West Highlands, as *Inverness* is on the East, and about sixty Miles from it. *Fort-Augustus* is situated in

great Ornament to the Town, before the Rebels blew it up; it was not a Place of Force, but a beautiful Barrack. Their chief Engineer, who laid the Plan for blowing up this Fort, was mounted up into the Air by one of the Blasts, and killed, whose Dog far'd better then his Master, for although he was also blown up at the same Time, a great Height, and thrown near to the other Side of the River, yet lived, but was sadly lamed. The Manufacture here is chiefly Linnen and Plaids. This Town, above all others in *Scotland*, is noted for handsome Women. They are generally of a fair Complexion; reddish Hair is also common amongst them; many of them are taught Musick (as the Spinnet) and Dancing: They also speak the best *English* here of any Place in *Scotland*, which

in a Valley at the Head of *Lochness*; it was a fine old Building about 200 Yards Distance. On a more rising Ground is another large Building, which is called the old Barracks, both which were burnt by the Rebels. The Town of *Kilwhimie*, consists only of a few Earthen miserable Huts, thatched with Heath or Heather and is situated just by the old Barracks.

which 'tis thought they formerly learnt from *Oliver Cromwell's* Forces, who a long Time garrisoned here in a large Pentagon Fort, built by him close to the Entrance of the River *Ness*, but is now entirely in Ruins, nothing remaining but Earthen Banks, or Bastions and Ditches. Here I had very good Quarters at a Jacobite Nonjuring Minister's. Setting aside their Principles, both Wife and Landlord were very agreeable People; on Enquiry, I was informed by the Minister of the established Church, that during the Time that Town had been possessed by the Rebels, Mr *Hays*, who was my Landlord, had made it his constant Practice to go about amongst the Rebel Officers, making Interest for his Neighbours that were well affected to the Government; which was now returned at their Request; for I protected him from any Injury he might have received from our Soldiers, when they came in as usual on such Occasions with

Barracks. *Fort-Augustus* is since rebuilt, and is now a very strong Fortress, having most commodious Barracks, and surrounded by two Trenches filled with Water, with Draw-Bridges, strong Walls and Bastions. In coming to which, from *Inverness*, you travel along the Banks of the *River Ness*, four *Scots* Miles (which are generally very long) till you come to the *Lochness*, from whence the River runs and discharges itself into the *Murray-Firth* at *Inverness*. In this River is a great Fishery, in which they catch vast Quantities of Salmon.

Lochness is a most remarkable and beautiful *Loch*, 24 Miles long, and two broad;

with Pretence to search for Arms. I gave them for Answer (being well assured) that there were no Arms there but what belong'd to me; and, as 'twas my Quarters, would not suffer it to be abus'd; which they always took as a satisfactory Answer, and went off; so that my Landlord suffered no Damage. I have heard since that he has conformed. This Town is pretty well affected to the Government, perhaps from the good Example (or some of the Breed) of *Oliver Cromwell's* Soldiers.

on

on each Side of this *Loch* is a Ridge of most terrible barren woody Mountains; you travel along the Banks, which makes the Foot of these Mountains, for about 12 Miles, and through a Road made with the greatest Difficulty, by blowing up very large Rocks, which in many Places hang declining over Passengers, and higher than Houses, so that 'tis frightful to pass by them; you then come to a poor small House of Entertainment (yet the only one on the Road) called the General's Hut, from General *Wade*, who once lived there when he commanded the Forces in making those surprising and useful Roads through the Highlands of *Scotland*: Before you come to this Place on the other Side of the *Loch*, are the Ruins of the famous Castle of *Urquhart*, consisting of seven great Towers, said to be built by the *Cummings*, and overthrown by King *Edward*: About four Miles to the Westward of which Castle, on the Top of a very high Hill two Miles perpendicular, is a Lake of cold fresh Water, about 30 Fathom in Length, and 6 in Breadth, no Stream running

running to it or from it; its Depth could never yet be fathomed, and at all Seasons of the Year it is equally full, and never freezes: A little Way after you leave this Hut, you are presented on your Right with a most remarkable Cataract, or Fall of Water, more than 20 Yards high; it being a small River obstructed by vast Rocks on the Edge of a Mountain, from whence it falls into the *Loch* at the Foot of this Mountain; here the Mountains and Rocks that environ this *Loch* are inaccessible: You leave it on your Right, and travel over continued barren Mountains, and see *Lochness* no more till you come to *Fort-Augustus*; from whence to *Fort-William* is 30 Miles, quite in a Valley, as it is from *Inverness* to this Place, and full of *Lochs* all the Way from Sea to Sea; East and West. This Valley is supposed to be 20 Foot lower than the Sea; and there are not above eight Miles of the Way from *Inverness* to *Fort-William* but what are either *Lochs* or Rivers. This Fort was erected in Honour of King *William* the Third, as the Village

is

is called *Maryborough*, in Honour of his Queen *Mary*, to curb the *Highlanders*, who upon all Revolutions used to be very unruly. This Garrison overawed the Neighbouring *Highlanders* when they armed for the Pretender in 1715. It is so situated, that if it be ever so much straitned by a Blockade or Siege by Land, 'tis open to the Sea, and may thereby receive constant Supplies. The Water in *Lochness* is of a brown Colour, said to abound much with Sulphur, and is the lightest Water in *Scotland*; Amongst the Natives it is accounted the best of Water; as is that of the River *Ness* at *Inverness*, which never freezes; the Soldiers complained of its giving them the Flux, as already taken Notice of. Upon *Lochness* is built a very handsome Sloop, which serves the Garrison with Necessaries from *Inverness*, and at this Time was of great Use in bringing up Forage and Provisions for the Army, &c. and carrying the Sick from hence to *Inverness*, of which there were but too great Plenty, after the excessive fatiguing Marches, inclement Weather,

and

and now invironed with black barren Mountains covered with Snow, and Streams of Water rolling down them; the Sight of which is sufficient to give a well-bred Dog the Vapours, and occasioned Numbers to fall sick daily, as well in their Minds as Bodies. This might have been still worse, had it not been for the Duke's Presence, which afforded Pleasure to every Soldier as often as they beheld him; and to divert their Melancholy, his Royal Highness and Officers frequently gave Money to be run for by Highland Horses, sometimes without Saddles or Bridles; both Men and Women riding: Here were also many Foot-Races, perform'd by both Sexes, which afforded many Droll Scenes. It was necessary to entertain Life in this Manner, otherwise the People were in Danger of being affected with hypochondriacal Melancholy. At this Time most of the Soldiers had Horses, which they bought and sold with one another at a low Price, and on which they rode about neglecting their Duty; which made it necessary to publish an Order to part with

with them, otherwise they were all to be shot. I saw a Soldier riding on one of these Horses, when being met by a Comrade, he asked him, *Tom, What hast thou given for the Galloway?* Tom answered, *Half-a-Crown.* To which the other replied, with an Oath, *He is too dear; I saw a better bought for Eighteen-Pence.* Notwithstanding the low Price, the vast Quantities of Cattle, such as Oxen, Horses, Sheep and Goats, taken from the Rebels, and bought up by the Lump, by the Jockies and Farmers from *Yorkshire* and the South of *Scotland*, came to a great deal of Money; all which was divided amongst the Men that brought them in; who were sent out in Parties, in Search of the Pretender; and they frequently came to Rebels Houses that had left them, and would not be reduced to Obedience: These Sort our Soldiers commonly plunder'd and burnt, so that many of them grew rich by their Share of Spoil.

Many of the Rebels, after their Defeat at *Culloden*, dispersed themselves o-

ver the County, and retired to their respective Homes, still keeping their Arms, without giving the least Marks of quitting their traiterous Disposition, although the Duke's Clemency in granting Protections to those who brought in their Arms (which a great many did) might have induced those harden'd Wretches to desist.

His Royal Highness issued out a Proclamation, requiring all Magistrates and Officers of the Law, to make Search for and commit such Persons when found, in order for Trial; to seize and secure their Arms; and to take Informations from the Ministers of the Established Church of Scotland, touching the Behaviour of the Inhabitants within their respective Parishes; and of the Haunts and Places of Abode of such Rebels as might be lurking in their several Neighbourhoods, &c. Notwithstanding the Prisoners that were shipp'd off from *Inverness*, the Prisons continued full with others that were daily sending in. The Prisons at *Aberdeen*,
Montrose,

Montrose, Sterling, and Perth, were likewise filled.

The Marquis of *Tullibardine*, and an *Italian*, who called himself *Macbell*, and said he had been 30 Years in the Service of the Pretender, fled through *Rossbire*, endeavouring to make the Sea-Coast or find a Passage to the Isle of *Mull*; but their Horses tiring, and the Marquis being in a bad State of Health, went, *April 27*, to the Seat of *William Buchannon*, Esq; Justice of the Peace, and surrender'd to him, who committed them both to the Castle of *Dunbarton*: The Marquis was afterwards transmitted to the Tower of *London*, where he died. *William Murray*, Esq; Brother to the Earl of *Dunmore*, surrender'd himself to a Justice of Peace in the Shire of *Mearns*. The Lord *Pitligo*, with some of his Followers, lurk'd about the Coast of *Buchan* in Hopes of making their Escape to *France*. The Misery and Distress of the fugitive Rebels was inexpressible, Hundreds being found dead of their Wounds, and thro'

Hunger, at the Distance of twelve fourteen, or Twenty Miles from the Field of Battle. General *Campbell* marched towards *Lochaber*, in order to clear that Country of the Rebels, who were dispersed all over it, and had begun to rob and plunder. Lord *Cobham's* Dragoons marched to *Montrose*, *Barvey*, and *Stonebaven*. Lord *Mark Kerr's* to *Bamff*, *Elgan*, * *Peterhead*, &c. to guard the Coast on the Eastern Shore.

The Duke of *Kingston's* Horse continued in the North until the Embers of

Peterhead is a Market-Town and Sea-Port of considerable Trade, on the South-Side of the Water of *Ugie*, upon the Promontory called *Buchanness*, about 20 Miles from *Aberdeen*, and 12 from *Old Meldrum*, which lies inland from it almost in a Line. Here the Pretender landed in the late Rebellion in 1715. It lies within a small Island call'd *Calk-Inch*, i. e. *Calk Island*, where are two little Piers, to receive small Vessels only at High-water; but on the South Side of it is a Bay, or Road, that will contain 100 Sail of Ships, with good Riding in eight or nine Fathome, secured from the North and West Winds by the Head, and from the Easterly by the Inch or Island.

Rebellion

Rebellion were entirely scattered : Then
 marched for *England*, and quartered in
 the City of *Nottingham*, where the Re-
 giment was reduced and their Standards
 and Trophies set up in the Town-Hall,
 with the following Motto :

These Military Standards,
 Lately belonging
 To the Light Horse
 Commanded

By the most Noble, and most Puissant Prince
EVELIN, Duke of KINGSTON,

Raised among the First

By the County of **NOTTINGHAM**

Out of Love to their Country,

And Loyalty to the Best of Kings,

In the Year 1745.

Are here dedicated,

To the perpetual Fame, and immortal Memory

Of their invincible Bravery,

In the Skirmish of **CLIFTON MOOR,**

The Siege of the City of **CARLISLE,**

But especially, at the memorable Battle,

Fought at **Culloden** in the Highlands

Of **SCOTLAND,**

On the 16th Day of *April*, 1746.

Where, amongst others,

They perform'd many and glorious Exploits

In Routing, and entirely Subduing,

The Perfidious Rebels,

Stir'd up, and supported

By the *French King* ;
An implacable Enemy
Of the Protestant Religion
And Publick Liberty.

God save our ever **AUGUST KING!**
Long may the County of **NOTTINGHAM**
Flourish.

As I have steadfastly adhered to Truth and Justice, through the Whole of my History, I beg Leave to make this general Remark: That though the Flame of Rebellion was kindled and raised in *Scotland* to a high Pitch, yet it is very unjust (as some ignorant People are apt) to brand the Country in general with the infamous Name of Rebels, since, from what I have already said, it plainly appears, that there are no People better attach'd to his Majesty's Person and Government, than many of the *Scots*; for the Confirmation of which, I refer you to his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland's* Letter to the Right Hon. the Earl of *Leven*, his Majesty's High Commissioner of *Scotland*.

My

My Lord Commissioner,

‘ **T** H E Meeting of the venerable
 ‘ the general Assembly of the
 ‘ Church of Scotland, furnishes an Oc-
 ‘ casion I have wished for, of expressing
 ‘ publicly the just Sense I have of the
 ‘ very steady and laudable Conduct of
 ‘ the Clergy of that Church, through
 ‘ the whole Course of this most wicked
 ‘ unnatural, and unprovoked Rebellion.

‘ I owe it to them in Justice to testi-
 ‘ fy, that upon all Occasions I have re-
 ‘ ceiv’d from them Professions of the
 ‘ most inviolable Attachments to his
 ‘ Majesty’s Person and Government ; of
 ‘ the warmest Zeal for the Religion and
 ‘ Liberties of their Country ; and of the
 ‘ firmest Persuasion, that these Blessings
 ‘ could not be preserv’d to the Nation
 ‘ but by the Support of his Majesty’s
 ‘ Throne, and of the Succession in his
 ‘ Royal Family ; and in the Support of
 ‘ the Sincerity of their Professions, I
 ‘ have always found them ready and
 ‘ forwards to act in their several Stations,
 ‘ in,

‘ in all such Affairs as they could be
 ‘ useful in, though often to their own
 ‘ great Hazard ; and of this I have not
 ‘ been wanting to give due Notice from
 ‘ Time to Time to his Majesty.

‘ I must desire your Grace to assure
 ‘ the venerable, the general Assembly,
 ‘ of the very sincere Acknowledgement
 ‘ I shall always feel for the particular
 ‘ Marks of Good Will and Affection I
 ‘ have receiv’d ev’ry where from the
 ‘ Clergy ; of my Regard and Esteem
 ‘ for their Body, and of my good Wishes
 ‘ for all its Members.

‘ I heartily wish Success to the good
 ‘ Work you are upon for the Service of
 ‘ his Majesty, and the true Benefit of his
 ‘ faithful Subjects. I am, my Lord
 ‘ Commissioner, your Graces most af-
 ‘ fectionate Friend,

WILLIAM.

I shall here taken Notice, that when
 the News of the Victory at *Calloden*
 reached *London* ; the Joy with which it
 was

was received, is not easy to be described ; but it may be truly said, that it was greater and more general than any Thing that has been seen of the same Nature in our Times At the same Time, that the middle and lower Ranks of People expressed their Satisfaction, and sincere Sense of the Obligations they lay under to the Duke, as the Author, under GOD, of their Safety ; the same Spirit shewed itself in both Houses of Parliament, where, on the 29th of *April*, 1746, Resolutions were taken to transmit to his Royal Highness the Thanks of both Houses ; which being expressed in very peculiar Terms, and his Royal Highness's Answers to them being every way worthy to the Reader's Notice and Remembrance, I judged it a Duty indispensable to insert them, and they are as follows :

The Thanks of the House of Peers.

‘ *Resolved*, That the Thanks of this
 ‘ House be given to his Royal Highness
 ‘ the Duke of *Cumberland*, for his great
 ‘ and

' and eminent Services performed by
 ' him to his Majesty and his Kingdoms
 ' against the Rebels; and that his Royal
 ' Highness be assured of the just Sense
 ' which this House has, in how distin-
 ' guished a Manner the late Victory
 ' was owing to his Valour and Con-
 ' duct, and to his indefatigable Zeal,
 ' Activity and Labours, in the Cause of
 ' his Royal Father, and of his Country,
 ' and of our ardent Wishes, that his
 ' Royal Highness may have the Glory
 ' entirely to compleat the great Work,
 ' which he has so successfully begun and
 ' carried on. --- *Ordered*, That the
 ' Lord Chancellor transmit the same to
 ' his Royal Highness.'

*Copy of his Royal Highness the DUKE's
 Letter to the Lord Chancellor. Da-
 ted from Inverness, May 7, 1746.*

My Lord Chancellor,

' I Could not possibly have received a
 ' more welcome and affecting Proof
 ' of that distinguished Zeal and Loyalty
 ' which the House of Lords has constant-
 ' ly

ly shewn to his Majesty's Person and
 Government, than by their favourable
 Acceptance of my Endeavours for the
 Publick Service ; and I desire you will
 lay before the House, my sincere Ac-
 knowledgement for the Regard they
 have shewn me on this Occasion. The
 Resolution and Firmness expressed by
 every Officer and Soldier, in his Ma-
 jesty's Army under my Command, de-
 serve the highest Commendations ; but
 the Guilt and Terror of that unhappy
 infatuated Multitude, who vainly ho-
 ped by unprovoked tumultuary Arms,
 and a contemptible foreign Assistance,
 to shake an Establishment founded in
 the Hearts of his Majesty's Subjects,
 afforded us so easy a Victory, that I
 can only express my Gratitude for the
 favourable Impressions with which the
 News of it was received by the House
 of Lords, whose good Opinion and
 Thanks I shall ever esteem as one of the
 most honourable Testimonies and Re-
 wards that any Action of mine could
 receive. I have only to add my
 Thanks to yourself, for the obliging
 Manner

‘ Manner in which you have executed
 ‘ the Commands of the House of Lords,
 ‘ and for the good Wishes with which
 ‘ you have accompanied them, of the
 ‘ Reality of which I am firmly per-
 ‘ suaded.

My Lord Chancellor,

Your most affectionate Friend,

WILLIAM.

The Thanks of the Commons ran thus:

‘ Resolved, *Nemine contradicente*, That
 ‘ the Thanks of this House be give to
 ‘ his Royal Highness the Duke of Cum-
 ‘ berland, for the eminent and very im-
 ‘ portant Services performed by him to
 ‘ his Majesty and the Kingdom over the
 ‘ Rebels, particularly in the late great
 ‘ Defeat in *Scotland* by his Majesty’s
 ‘ Forces, under his Royal Highness’s
 ‘ Command. ---- *Ordered*, That the said
 ‘ Thanks be transmitted to his Royal
 ‘ Highness, by *Mr Speaker*.

Copy

*Copy of his Royal Highness's Letter to
Mr Speaker Dated Inverness, May
the 7th, 1746.*

Mr Speaker,

I Desire you would acquaint the
House of Commons with the just
Sense I have of the Regard they have
been pleased to shew me on this Oc-
casion ; and to assure them that no-
thing can be more agreeable to me than
their Congratulation upon the Success
of his Majesty's Arms, which is so au-
thentick a Testimonial of their steady
Zeal and Loyalty for his Majesty's
Person and Government. The Esteem
and Approbation of my Endeavours in
the Publick Service fill my Wishes,
and it will always be my Study to de-
serve the Continuance of their good
Opinion. I cannot enough extol my
own good Fortune in being placed at
the Head of an Army, which expressed
all along the best Affections and the
greatest Ardour, and crown'd all by
the Resolution shewn by every Officer

‘ and Soldier in the Day of Action;
 ‘ to which (under GOD) our Success
 ‘ was owing. I return you my Thanks
 ‘ for the Cordiality and Affection with
 ‘ which you have executed the Com-
 ‘ mands of the House of Commons.

Mr. Speaker,

Your most Affectionate Friend,

W I L L I A M.

Both Houses of Parliament likewise
 addressed the King upon this glorious
 and import Victory; and in the Ad-
 dress of the House of Commons, the
 concluding Paragraph ran in these Words:
 ‘ We beg Leave to assure your Majesty,
 ‘ that your faithful Commons, truly sen-
 ‘ sible of the great Benefits this Nation
 ‘ has received from the eminent Courage
 ‘ and Conduct of his Royal Highness the
 ‘ D U K E upon this Occasion; are de-
 ‘ sirs, and will be ready to give his
 ‘ Royal Highness such distinguishing
 ‘ Marks of Publick Gratitude as shall
 ‘ be

‘ be most agreeable to your Majesty,
 ‘ and are justly due to his superior
 ‘ Merit.’

His Majesty having considered the Nature and Import of this Address; on the 13th of *May*, sent the House of Commons a Message in the subsequent Terms, *viz.*

GEORGE R.

‘ **T**HE Desire which is Majesty’s
 ‘ faithful Commons have expressed
 ‘ to shew some publick Mark of their
 ‘ Approbation of the Services performed
 ‘ by his dearly beloved Son the Duke of
 ‘ *Cumberland*, towards suppressing the
 ‘ Rebellion, and preserving our happy
 ‘ Constitution in Church and State, has
 ‘ given his Majesty the greatest Satisfaction. His Majesty therefore is persuaded, that upon this Occasion he
 ‘ complies with the Inclination of this
 ‘ House, in recommending to their Consideration, the settling an Additional
 ‘ Revenue upon his said Son, and his
 K k 2 ‘ Issue

‘ Issue Male, with such Provisions as shall
 ‘ be judged proper.’ The next Day Pursuant to his Majesty’s Message of the 13th, the Commons voted (*Nem. con.*) that an Additional Revenue of 25,000 *l.* be settled on his Royal Highness *William Duke of Cumberland*, and on the Heirs Male of his Body, for the signal Services done by his Royal Highness to his Country ; to be issuing and payable out of the Duties and Revenues, composing the Aggregate Fund. --- His Royal Highness had before only 15,000 *l.* per Ann. payable out of the Civil List.

The Work in the Highlands being mostly over, and I having had the Pleasure of seeing and lending a Hand in reducing the Enemies of my King and Country to an unwilling Obedience, had a Desire to leave these Parts (so long harrassed by the Highland Banditti, that it more resembled the Habitation of Savages than the Residence of a civilized Society) and to return to *England*. My Horse being wounded at the Battle of *Culloden*, and not fit for so long a Journey,

ney, the Adjutant-General gave me an Order to the Commissary, to receive another Horse, so that I soon after turned my Back upon these hideous Mountains and Rocks, covered with Snow, and the noisy Ding of the great Falls of Water, (which is the Winter Appearance) to a more agreeable Prospect, the Weather being now pretty good, the Vallies and adjacent Hills covered with Ling or Heath, began to look beautiful. Although this Country is not very fertile, yet it produces pretty Ladies; for as a Star shines with the most Lustre in the darkest Night so those pretty *Cladonian* Comets appear the more agreeable in this reclude Part of the World; who for erect Deportment, genteel Air, and a becoming, courteous, frank Behaviour, none can excel. It perhaps may be thought mean, and beneath the Character of a Soldier in Time of War to regard such trifling Things as Women; which I deny; they of all Things here deserve our highest Regard; for whilst we endure the Fatigue of a Winter's Campaign, it affords some Pleasure to think, that we

not only serve our King and Country in general, but particularly the Ladies; in protecting their Innocence, and preserving them from all Affronts or Attempts on their Virtue, in the lawful Enjoyment of their Lovers: All this we do, nor is it more than our Duty, seeing that the Soldier's Monitor does not forbid to reverence their sweet and comely Graces in Chastity and Modesty. This inspires a Soldier in the Day of Battle with true Courage and Fortitude. being not only engaged in the Service of the Government, but that of the Ladies, our Mistresses, or our Wives, which are the better Part of ourselves: He that does not act under those Principles, is divested of that Honour due to the Dignity of a Volunteer; so that it may justly be said, our whole Life is dedicated to the Service of the Ladies; and if in Return we have their Thanks with a Smile, a kind Look, their Hand, or perhaps their Heart, 'tis more than sufficient Recompence.

The

The valiant Soldier who delights in Arms,
 Gives up his Life t'resistless Beauty's Charms ;
 In Winter Quarters, and in long Campaigns,
Bacchus and *Venus* warm his amorous Veins :
 Where e'er he travels he must bless his Life,
 With a kind Mistress, or a kinder Wife ;
 That while he lives, he may his Hours improve,
 With charming Beauty, and the Sweets of Love.

Some Time after there was a most malignant kind of Sicknefs introduc'd amongst the Army, by Brigadier *Houghton's* Regiment coming from Sea, in Ships that had before carried Rebel Prisoners to *London*, amongst which was the Goal Distemper : This Malady not only made Havock amongst our Soldiers, but even the Towns-People of *Inverness* great Numbers of whom, both young and old, died daily thereof.

Detachments being sent out from the Duke's Army (as I have already said) for apprehending the Rebels, the Earl of *Cromartie*, and his Son Lord *Mackleod*, Lord *Kilmarnock*, Marquis of *Tullibardine*, Lord *Lovat*, Lord *Balmerino*, Lord *Mordington*, Sir *Archibald Primrose*, Sir *John Wedderburn*, Sir *James Kinloch*,
 and

and several other Prisoners of Distinction were taken: And now I come to the last Head of what I proposed, which is, to give an Account of the legal Proceedings against the Persons concerned in the Rebellion. His Majesty's Reign had hitherto been unspotted with Blood but now the Mildness of the Government should give Place to Justice. It was therefore become requisite for the Security of the Constitution, restoring the Vigour of the Laws, and maintaining the future Tranquility of the Kingdom, to make Examples of such as had disturbed it: The Voice of the Nation demanded it; and the Legislature had provided that this should be speedily and effectually done, by passing an Act agreeable to the Practice of former Times, for regulating the Trials of such as had been guilty of High-Treason. The Prisons were crowded with Offenders taken in Arms; who were to be tried pursuant to this Act; and for this Purpose his Majesty issued a Special Commission of *Oyer and Terminer* to the Judges and other proper Persons to sit for that Purpose at St. *Margaret's Hill,*

Hill, in the Borough of *Southwark*, in the County of *Sur. y.*

But as many of the Chiefs who were most guilty were not taken, a Bill of Attainder was brought into the House of Commons in the Beginning of the Month of *May*, and Witnesses were examined to prove the Guilt of the Persons named therein. After it had passed the Commons, the like Examination of Witnesses was had in the House of Lords where the Bill was likewise passed; and on *Wednesday* the 4th of *June* his Majesty came to the House of Peers, and gave his Royal Assent to an Act for attainting the Persons named therein of High-Treason, in case they did not surrender themselves to one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace on or before the 12th of *July* following, and submit to Justice.

The Persons included in this Bill were *Alexander Ereskine*, Earl of *Kelly*, who avoided the Attainder by surrendering himself; *William (Drummond) Viscount Strath-*

Starithallan; Alexander (Forbes) Lord Pitligo; David Wemyss, Esq; called Lord Elcho, eldest Son and Heir apparent to James Earl of Wemyss; James Drummond, Esq; eldest Son of Lord Strathallan; Simon Fraser, Esq; eldest Son of Lord Lovat, who surrendered the Day after the Time limited; George Murray, Esq; Brother to the Duke of Athol; Lewis Gordon, Esq; Brother to the Duke of Gordon; James Drummond, called Duke of Perth; James Graham, called Viscount of Dundee; John Nairn, called Lord Nairn; David Ogilvie, called Lord Ogilvie; John Drummond, called Lord John Drummond, Brother to the titular Duke of Perth; Robert Mercer, Esq; alias Nairn of Aldie; Sir William Gordon of Park; John Murray of Broughton, Esq; taken before the Day but admitted to surrender notwithstanding; John Gordon, the Elder, of Glenbucket; Donald Cameron, the Younger, of Lochiel; Dr. Archibald Cameron, Brother of Lochiel, Lodovick Cameron of Tor-castle; Alexander Cameron of Dungallon; Donald Mac Donal, the Younger, of Claronald;

nald; Donald Mac Donald of Leebgarie, Alexander Mac Donald of Keppoch; Archibald Mac Donald of Barrisdale; Alexander Mac Donald of Glencoe; Evan Mac Pheison of Cluny; Lauchlan Mac Lauchlan of Castle-Lauchlan; John Mac Kinnon of Mac Kinnon; Charles Steward of Airdsbeil; G. Lockhart, eldest Son of G. Lockhart of Cornwarth; Laurence Oliphant, the Elder, of Gask; Laurence Oliphant, the Younger, of Gask; James Graham, the Younger, of Airth; John Stewart, called John Roy Stewart; Francis Farquarson of Monalterye; Alexander M c Giliora of Drumaglass; Lauchlan Mac Intosh, Merchant, of Inverness; Malcolm Ross of Pitcalny; Alex. M'Leod; Andrew Landsdale, alias Lumsden; William Fidler, Clerk in the Auditor's Office.

On Monday the 23d of June, eight of the Judges went in the usual State from Serjeant's-Inn to the Hall on St. Margaret's-Hill, Southwark, where they open'd the Special Commission for the Trial of the Rebel Prisoners; when a Grand Jury of

of which Sir *William Richardson* of *Bermonsey*, Knight, was Foreman, and three other Knights, and nineteen Esquires of the County of *Surry*, were impanelled, to whom a learned Charge was given; after which they withdrew, and found Bills of Indictment for High Treason in levying War, against the Earls of *Cromartie* and *Kilmarnock*, and Lord *Bastard*. At the same Time they likewise found Bills of the same Nature against thirty-seven Commoners, who had a reasonable Time given them to prepare for their Trials.

The House of Peers being informed that Bills had been found against the three Lords, directed that a Writ of *Certiorari* should be issued for bringing the said Indictments before them, and appointed also a Committee to consider of the proper Methods for bringing the said Lords to their Trials. Before I proceed to the Detail of what happened in Reference to these Judicial Proceedings, it becomes absolutely necessary to take Notice of a very extraordinary Step the *French Court* thought

thought fit to make on this Occasion. The Reader will observe, that the Pretender's Son was at this Time in *Scotland*; that many of the unhappy Persons engaged in this Rebellion had been drawn into it by Assurances given them, that their Cause would be supported by *France*; to keep up this Notion therefore, and thereby the Spirits of these deluded People, and perhaps to hinder the good Effects that might have attended that Spirit of Tenderness and Compassion, which had always distinguished his Majesty's Administration, an Attempt was made to deter the Government from bringing those People to Justice.

There has been various Conjectures, upon the Occasion of those Proceedings, which I'll pass by, and only add, that is most likely, that the *French Court* did it to serve their own Purposes, as they did every thing else from the Beginning of these Troubles.

The *French* Minister therefore, for Foreign Affairs, wrote a vey strange Letter
L 1 upon

upon this Head, from the Camp, to the *Dutch* Ambassador at *Paris*, beseeching him to exert that Sort of Eloquence, for which he is famous upon this Occasion; which he accordingly did; but the Application was received here in the Manner that might be well expected, and his Majesty's principal Secretary of State gave the *Dutch* Minister such an Answer, as shewed how little Impression *French* Threatnings made here, and how very highly his Conduct, in this Respect, was relented. These Letters are of such Consequence in themselves, and belong to immediately to this History, that I cannot avoid inserting them.

M. D'Aigenson's *Letter* to M. Van-Hoey.

S I R,

THE King has ordered me to write to your Excellency, concerning the Situation of Prince *Edward* and his Adherents, since the Advantage gained over them by the *English* Troops

the

' the 27th of last Month. All *Europe*
 ' knows the Tyes of *Parentage* which
 ' subsist between me and Prince *Edward*.
 ' Moreover, this young Prince is endow
 ' ed with all the Qualities which might
 ' engage those Powers to interest them-
 ' selves in his Favour, who esteem true
 ' Courage; and the King of *England* is
 ' himself too just and impartial a Judge
 ' of true Merit, not to set a Value upon
 ' it, even in an Enemy. The Character
 ' of the *British* Nation in general, can-
 ' not likewise but inspire all *Englishmen*
 ' with the Sentiments of Admiration,
 ' for a Countryman, so distinguished by
 ' his Talents and heroic Virtues. All
 ' these Reasons ought naturally to favour
 ' the Fate of Prince *Edward*; and at the
 ' same Time we may expect from the
 ' Moderation and Clemency of the King
 ' of *England*, that he will not suffer those
 ' Persons to be persecuted with the ut-
 ' most Rigour, who in the Time of
 ' Trouble and Confusion, followed the
 ' Standard which was lately overthrown
 ' by the *British* Arms, under the Com-
 ' mand of the Duke of *Cumberland*. Ne-

vertheless, Sir, as in the first Motions of
 Revolution, Resentment is sometimes
 carried to a greater Height than in more
 peaceable Times, the King things pro-
 per, as far as in him lies, to prevent the
 dangerous Effects of any too severe
 Measures which his *Britannic* Majesty
 might take upon this Occasion. 'Tis
 with this just View, Sir, that the King
 ordered me to desire your Excellency to
 write to the *English* Ministry, and to
 represent to it, in the strongest Manner,
 the Inconveniences which must infalli-
 bly result from any violent Proceedings
 against Prince *Edward*. The Right
 of Nations, and the particular Interest
 which his Majesty makes in Respect to
 that Prince, are Motives that will pro-
 bably make some Impression upon the
 Court of *London*; and his Majesty hopes
 to find none but noble and generous
 Proceedings from the King of *England*
 and the *English* Nation; and that all
 those who were lately concerned in the
 Interest of the House of *Stuart*, will
 likewise have Reason to extol the Ge-
 nerosity and Clemency of his *Britannic*
 Ma-

Majesty. But if contrary to all Expecta-
 tions, any Attempts should be made
 either with Respect to the Liberty of
 Prince *Edward*, or the Life of his
 Friends and Partisans 'tis easy to foresee
 that a Spirit of Animosity and Fury
 might prove one dreadful Consequence
 of such Rigour; and how many inno-
 cent People, before the End of the
 War, may fall Victims to a Violence,
 which could only aggravate the Evil,
 and would certainly set no good Ex-
 ample to *Europe*. Nobody, Sir, is more
 capable than you are, to set forth these
 Reasons Your Equity, and your Love
 of Peace will suggest to you what is best
 to say upon this important Subject.
 Your Excellency must be sensible, that
 there is not a Moment to be delayed in
 writing to the Ministers of the King of
England; and I hope you will do me
 the Favour to communicate to me the
 Answer you receive from them, that I
 may give an Account of it to the King,
 that he may take such Resolutions upon
 this, as his Majesty should think suitable
 to the Glory and Dignity of his Crown.

He sincerely wishes, that the King of
England may give him none but Ex-
ample of Humanity and Greatness of
Soul, &c.

Camp at Bouchout, May 26th, 1746.

Letter from M. Van Hoey, to the Duke
of Newcastle, in which the former was
inclosed.

My LORD,

I Have the Honour to send to your
Excellency a Letter I just now re-
ceived from M. D'Argenson in Rela-
tion to the present State of the Affairs
of the Pretender's eldest Son, and those
of his Adherents, since the Defeat they
have met with from his Royal High-
ness the Duke of Cumberland. Your
Excellency will perceive thereby, how
much that Court confides in me, what
Credit I, by my long Residence there,
have gained, and how far it is inclined
to believe, that my Love of Peace and
Equity will furnish me with Argument
to

' to enforce its Recommendations. I
 ' wish, my Lord, I was Master of the
 ' greatest Eloquence upon Earth, and
 ' were able effectually to employ my
 ' whole Life to convince Mankind, that
 ' by doing to others as we would they
 ' should do unto us, is the Foundation
 ' of the supreme Happiness of States,
 ' Nations, Kings, their Subjects, and in
 ' general, of human Kind. This is a
 ' Duty well known by your Excellency,
 ' and Providence expects from you a
 ' Compliance. from the high Station
 ' with which he has blessed you. May
 ' Persuasion flow from your Lips like
 ' Honey, and every one will be convin-
 ' ced, that we are only happy in Pro-
 ' portion to the Good we do to others.
 ' May you, my Lord, banish that per-
 ' nicious Art which Discord hath brought
 ' into the World, of seducing Men to
 ' destroy one another. Wretched Poli-
 ' cy! Which substitutes Revenge, Ha-
 ' tred, Jealousy and Avarice, to take
 ' Place of the Divine Precepts which
 ' form the Glory of Kings and Happiness
 ' of the Subjects. You know, my Lord,
 ' that

that Courage, by way of Excellence,
 is called Virtue, and that because it is
 founded on the Love of Happiness,
 and directed in all its Motions by E-
 quity, Moderation and Goodness. True
 Heroes make their Victories become
 profitable to those they conquer, and
 raise for themselves immortal Trophies
 of Honour, by subduing Resentment
 and Revenge, Passions so natural to
 Mankind, and so difficult to get the
 better off. Thus has Clemency been
 revered by wise Men in all Ages, as
 the most magnanimous, the most use-
 ful, and the most pious of all Royal
 Virtues. I am sensible, my Lord,
 that I am guilty of an Indiscretion, in
 laying before you what Wisdom, Ex-
 perience and Religion have so strongly
 impressed upon your Heart. It is not
 that I presume to add to your Con-
 viction, but how is it possible to for-
 bear insisting on a Subject which we
 love? To know Truth, and be infla-
 med with its divine Beauties, is, as
 your Excellency well knows, but one
 and the same Thing. May two so
 great

' great Kings never cease to emulate,
 ' which shall be the highest Example of
 ' Humanity, Clemency and Greatness
 ' of Soul. May their Love to Mankind
 ' increase and add daily to their Glory,
 ' and cause it to shine with greater Splen-
 ' dour; that their Subjects in particular
 ' may owe their Peace, and all *Europe*
 ' in the Re-establishment of its Tranqui-
 ' lity to them; that their Wisdom may
 ' perpetuate their Memories, and be
 ' made Examples of to Posterity to the
 ' latest Ages; may they long on Earth
 ' enjoy the just Return of human Kind,
 ' and more and more secure to themselves
 ' eternal Happiness hereafter. I have the
 ' Honour to be, &c.

Paris, June 2, 1746.

*His Grace the Duke of Newcastle's An-
 swer to M. Van-Hocx's Letter.*

S I R,
 ' I Did not receive till the Day before
 ' Yesterday, the Letter which your
 ' Excellency was pleased to honour me
 ' with

' with, dated the 2d Instant, N. S. in-
 ' closing one which the Marquis *D'Ar-*
 ' *genfon* had wrote to you on the 26th of
 ' *May*. I laid it immediately before the
 ' King, who was in the greatest Asto-
 ' nishment at the Contents of that Let-
 ' ter, which as well in what relates to the
 ' Subject of it, as to the Manner of treating
 ' it, is so contrary to his Majesty's Ho-
 ' nour and to the Dignity of his Crown,
 ' that his Majesty cannot but consider
 ' himself as too much offended by it to
 ' make any Answer to it. You know,
 ' Sir, and so do the *French* Ministers,
 ' with how scrupulous an Exactness his
 ' Majesty has on his Part executed the
 ' Cartel agreed on between him and the
 ' most Christian King, in it's utmost Ex-
 ' tent, even to the releasing on their Pa-
 ' role all the Officers in the *French* Ser-
 ' vice, who were made Prisoners within
 ' the Limits of these Kingdoms, and who
 ' were not his Majesty's natural-born Sub-
 ' jects, although the Service on which
 ' they were then employed might very
 ' justly have excused his Majesty from
 ' it. It is impossible, after this, to doubt
 ' of

of his Majesty's sincere Desire to do
 every thing which the Law of Nations
 can require between Powers at War
 with each other, even beyond what is
 usually practised : But as to what re-
 lates to his Majesty's own Subjects,
 neither to Law of Nations, the Car-
 tels, nor the Practice and Example
 of any Country, authorize any fo-
 reign Power at War with his Ma-
 jesty, to intrude themselves to make
 any Demand from his Majesty thereto.
 The most Christian King knows too
 well himself the Right inherent in every
 Sovereign, to imagine that his Ma-
 jesty can think otherwise. I cannot
 conceal from your Excellency his Ma-
 jesty's Surprise, to see that the Am-
 bassador of a Power so strictly united
 with him, and essentially interested in
 every thing that concerns the Honour
 and Security of his Majesty's Person
 and Government, could charge him-
 self with transmitting to his Majesty so
 unheard of a Demand. And I am very
 sorry, Sir, to be obliged to acquaint
 you that his Majesty could not avoid
 com-

complaining of it to their High
 ' Mightinesses the States General, your
 ' Masters.'

I have the Honour to be, &c.

Whitehall, June 3d, 1746.

But this was not all the Mortification
 that M. *Van-Hoey* received; his Majesty's
 Minister to the States General, *Robert*
Treveler, Esq; presented a Memorial to
 their High Mightinesses in which he
 complained of the Indignity offered to
 the King his Master, in Terms suitable
 to the Offence. The States General rea-
 dily promised all the Reparation and Sa-
 tisfaction in their Power and accord-
 ingly signified to M. *Van-Hoey* the Sense
 they had of his ill Conduct, in stronger
 Terms than are usually employed by
 them to Persons in his Station; and at the
 same Time signified their Pleasure, that
 he should write to the Duke of *New-*
castle in so submissive a Style as to atone
 for what was past; admonishing him like-
 wise, to avoid every thing capable of giv-
 ing

ing either Umbrage or Offence for the future.

To all this M. *Van-Hoey* gave a very exact Obedience, wrote a very handsome Letter to the Duke, in which he expressed how sensible he was of his Misfortune, and having by his Indiscretion drawn upon himself the Displeasure of his *Britannic* Majesty; and has since that Time given such Marks of the Sincerity with which he made this Submission, as have procured him Thanks for his good Offices upon subsequent Occasions; so that whatever the *French* Views were in this strange Business, it is certain they were absolutely defeated. But it is now high Time to quit this Subject, and to return to the Thread of my Narration.

On *Tuesday* the 22d of *July*, the Trials of those Rebels against whom Bills had been found at *St Margaret's-Hall* being over the Right Hon. the Lord Chief Justice *Lee*, in the Presence of Sir *Martin Wright*, Sir *Michael Foster*, Sir *Thomas Reynolds*, Sir *Thomas Abney*, Mr
M m Baron

Baron Clive, and other Commissioners, passed Sentence of Death upon 17 who had been found Guilty on their Trials, after having had Council allowed them. Of these the following Eight were reprieved, viz. Charles Deacon, William Pattragh, John Saunderson, Christopher Taylor, James Wilday, Thomas Furnival, James Gadd, and Alexander Abernethy.

On Wednesday the 30th of the same Month, the other Nine were carried on three Sledges to the Place of Execution (Kennington-Common) and there suffered as is usual in Cases of High-Treason, viz. Francis Townley, Esq; one of an ancient Family in Lancashire, who acted as Governor at Carlisle; David Morgan, Esq; Barrister at Law; George Fletcher, Thomas Chadwick, James Deacon, Thomas Deacon, John Barwick, Andrew Blood, and Thomas Siddals. Mr Townley was the only Professed Papist among them.

The House of Lords having upon the Petition of the Peers that were Prisoners, granted them Solicitors, and whatever was necessary for their Defence, addressed his Majesty to appoint a Lord High Steward for their Trials. The same was accordingly done; and the Prisoners on the 28th of July were brought before the Peers, sitting in *Westminster-Hall*. The Right Hon. *Philip Lord Hardwick*, Lord High Chancellor of *Great Britain*, acting by his Majesty's Commission as Lord High Steward; when *Arthur Lord Balmerino* pleaded not guilty; upon which the King's Council opened the Indictment; called the Witnesses for the Crown; and the Fact being plainly proved, their Lordships unanimously found the Prisoner guilty.

On the 30th of the same Month, *William Earl of Kilmarnock*, being brought before the House, made a long and moving Speech, and at the same Time pleaded guilty; as did *George Earl of Cromartie*. Then Lord *Balmerino* moved in Arrest of Judgment, and at his

Request had Council assigned him to argue the Point, if he thought proper. On *Friday* the 1st of *August*, the Rebel Lords were again brought up. Lord *Balmerino* having waved the Point he had formerly insisted upon (being informed by his Council that it would be of no Service to him) the Lord High Steward, after addressing himself in a very elegant, pathetick, and tender Speech to the Prisoners, pronounced Sentence as usual, in Cases of High Treason.

It will be expected that I should give some Account of those unhappy Noble-men, who by their Indiscretion, in taking up Arms against the Government, subjected themselves to the Loss of Life, and deprived their Families of their Titles, and Fortunes.

GEORGE Earl of *Cromartie*, was of the noble Family of the *Mac-kenzies*, the Chief of which was the Earl of *Seaforth*, who was in the Rebellion in 1715; his Lordship was the Grandson of the first Earl of *Cromartie*, and this unhappy

happy Nobleman was himself the Second who bore that Title, his Father having never lived to enjoy it. How he came to be embarked in the Rebellion is not easy to be accounted for, as his Lordship had always warmly professed the Revolution Principles, and besides was under particular Obligations, as having received considerable Favours from the present Government. But his Lordship loved Company, and it seems was drawn by Company to do as they did; which was attended with another Incident, the drawing his eldest Son the Lord *MacLeod* into the same Misfortune, who being taken with his Father, as I have before observed, was then a Prisoner with him in the Tower. His melancholy Case, the several Circumstances tending to extenuate his Guilt, his sincere Repentance, the great Distress of his Family and the affecting Situation of his Countess, big with Child, being laid before his Majesty, whose generous Disposition inclines him always to see the Arguments for Clemency in the strongest Light, he was graciously pleased to relieve him;

and the other two Lords were ordered for Execution; which frees me from the Necessity of saying any thing more of him, except that he is said to have expressed all the Duty and Gratitude towards his Majesty which so high and undeserved a Mark of Mercy ought to excite in the Mind of a Gentleman and a Christian.

WILLIAM BOYD, Earl of *Kilmarnock*, and Lord *Boyd*, takes his Title of Earl from a Royal Borough of that Name, in the Shire of *Cunningham*. The first remarkable Man of his Family, and the first who assumed the Surname of *Boyd*, it is said by *Scotch* Genealogists, to be *Robert*, the Son of *Simon*, third Son of *Allan*, Lord High-Chancellor of *Scotland* in the Year 1111, from whom the late Earl was lineally descended. The first who was created a Baron, and called to Parliament by the Name and Title of Lord *Boyd* of *Kilmarnock*, was one *Robert* a Man remarkable for his Abilities, both as a Soldier and Statesman, whose Son *Robert*, a Nobleman of quick Wit and penetrating Judgment,

ment, was on the 25th of October, 1466, by Patent created *Regent* of Scotland, during the Minority of King *James* the Third who created his Son *Thomas*, in the Life-time of his Father, *Earl of Arran*, and gave him in Marriage the Lady *Mary Stewart*, eldest Sister to the King. He was shortly after sent on an Embassy to *Denmark*, on a Treaty of Marriage between the young King, his Brother-in-law, and *Margaret*, a Daughter of that Crown, whom he espoused in the Name of his Royal Master. But by the Practices of his Enemies against him, was so ced afterwards to take the Opportunity of one of those Ships which conveyed the Queen, and retired to *Denmark*, with his Wife, the King's Sister; whence going to pay a Visit to *Charles* then Duke of *Burgundy*, Anno 1470, he died at *Antwerp*, and was honourably interred at the Expence of that Duke, who erected a superb Monument to his Memory.

After the Restoration of King *Charles* II. *William* the then surviving Descen-

dant

dant, a Man of Wit and Learning, remarkable for Activity in the Interest of that Monarch, and upon Account of his solid Parts, was created by that Prince Earl of *Kilmarnock*. The Family having remained in a private Station, from the Time of the famous Earl of *Arran* in *James III's* Reign, till this Period, when they again appeared in Parliament with their ancient Lustre. *William*, his Great Grandson, the 4th and late Earl, who was confined in the Tower of *London*, was but very young when his Father died. His Father's Death leaving him too soon at Liberty to be his own Master, and the Indulgence that is generally given to young Noblemen, added to the natural Sprightliness of his Temper, soon gave him an Aversion to a rigorous Study of Letters, though he had made some Progress in Classical Learning, and had acquired some tolerable Notion of Philosophy and the Mathematicks; but there was too much of the Volatile in his Disposition, to continue long at Exercises that required

Appli-

Application: He was more happy in acquiring those which are called genteel Accomplishments; such as Riding, Fencing, Dancing, and some Musick; in all which he excelled, and was esteemed by Men of Taste, a polite Gentleman.

When he came to the Estate, it was pretty much incumber'd, and a great Part of the old Patrimony alienated: The Earl's Disposition was by no Means cut out for improving it by Parsimony; on the contrary, as his Income was infinitely short of what the Generosity, or rather the Profuseness of his Disposition would prompt him to spend, he found his Affairs daily growing worse, and therefore thought of bettering his Circumstances by an advantageous Match: To this Purpose he fixed his Eyes upon Lady *Ann Levenston*, Daughter of *James Earl of Linlithgow* and *Galloway*, a young Lady of considerable Fortune, and great Beauty. The Earl made his Addresses to the Lady, but her Friends, who knew the low Ebb of the Earl's Fortune, refused their Consent: However his Lordship's

ship's agreeable Person, and genteel Address, raised a Friend for him in the Lady's Bosom who married him without her Mother's Consent.

His Lordship's Excesses added to the Charge of a Family, reduced the Estate so low, that it was not now sufficient to support them with any tolerable Decency; his Lordship was therefore obliged to apply to the Ministry for a Pension, which he obtain'd, and has ever since enjoy'd it.

It does not appear to me that the Earl was in the original Design of the Rebellion, for I believe it was far advanced before his Lordship so much as thought of joining them. But his Lady happening to be at *Edinburgh* when the young Pretender enter'd that City, she was charm'd with the Gaiety of his military Court, and the Affability with which he treated her and all the Ladies: The Countess is naturally of a very gay Disposition, fond of Publick Diversions, and generally the First at all Parties of Pleasure; and finding herself

herself more than usually caress'd by a Person who personated Sovereignty, which flattered her Vanity and puff'd up her Ambition; she was soon converted to the *Jacobite* Faith, and her Lord had not Resolution enough to withstand her Solicitations, especially after the Battle of *Preston-Pans*; which elevated the *Jacobites* to such a Degree, that they esteem'd it Madness and Infatuation in every Body who did not immediately join their Standard: Among the rest the Earl of *Kilmarnock* joined them, and was received by the young *Chevalier* with Marks of great Esteem and Distinction; declared of the *Privy Council*, made Colonel of his Guards, and promoted to the Degree of a General,

ARTHUR ELPINGSTON, Lord *Balmorino*, is of a Name very ancient, tho' not very numerous in *Scotland*, but cannot be number'd as of a potent Clan, tho' it has abounded with Men of Figure and Note in that Country, as much as any other Name whatsoever. They are said to come from
Germany

Germany, and that the First who appeared of the Name, married, in the Days of Robert, the First of Scotland, Margaret, Daughter to Sir Christopher Gordon, of Seaton, by his Wife, the Lady Christian, Sister to King Robert, who bestowed on him several Lands in Mid-Lothian, the Revenue of which was sufficient to support his Dignity, especially in those Times, when Luxury and extravagant Expences were none of the most Accomplishments of a fine Gentleman, however highly born. These Lands Mr. Elphinston called after his own Name, which they still bear, and is the chief Seat and gives the Title of Lord to the Lord Elphinston, Chief of the Family we are now treating of.

In the Reign of King James the First, a second Son of the Lord Elphinston, by the Interest of his Father with that King was created a Baron, by the Name and Title of Lord Balmerino. John the 4th Lord of that Name, his Great Grandson and Father of the late unfortunate Nobleman, was in the Reign of Queen Anne made

made General of the Mint, and Sheriff of the County of *Edinburgh*; and in 1713, was elected one of the Sixteen Peers to represent the Peerage of *Scotland* in the Parliament of *Great-Britain*. *James* his younger Son, by his first Wife, Daughter to the Earl of *Eglington*, and half Brother to the late Lord, while he had no Prospect of the Estate of *Balmerino*, was bred to the Law, where he made a considerable Figure at the Bar, as an Advocate, had a large Share of Employment, was esteemed an honest and able Counsellor, and was listened to with great Attention by the Bench.

His remarkable Abilities, accompanied with a great Sedateness, soon recommended him to a Seat on the Bench, where he discharged that high and important Trust with great Honour and strict Integrity. He was esteemed an able and just Judge, always avoided mixing Party Spirit with the Bench.

This

This worthy Lord died about a Year before the Rebellion broke out, but left no Issue. He was succeeded by *Arthur* the late Earl, the Son of *John*, the fourth Lord *Balmerino*, by his second Wife, Daughter of *Arthur Ross*, Archbishop of *St. Andrews*.

His Lordship, in Queen *Ann's* Time was in the Service; had a Company of Foot; at the Head of which he fought, under the Duke of *Argyle*, at the Battle of *Dumblain*; but afterwards joined the Earl of *Marn*; he was pardoned at the Intercession of his Father, and lived privately in *Scotland*, until the breaking out of the last Rebellion.

On the 18th of *August* 1746, about Eight in the Morning, the Sheriffs, *Blackford* and *Cockayne* went to the Tower to receive those unfortunate Noblemen; the Earl of *Kilmarock* and the Lord *Balmerino*; about Ten they were brought out and conducted to a House prepared for their Reception, where the Earl, who was called to suffer first, spent about

about an Hour in his Devotion with Mr *Toster*; he appeared upon the Scaffold dressed in Black, with a very Serene Countenance; was remarkably penitent and owned the great Guilt of the Rebellion; declared his Satisfaction with the Regality of King George's Title to the Crown, and as he had promised, when he first begg'd for Mercy, he pray'd for our lawful Sovereign with his last Breath, gave the Executioner five Guineas; prepared himself for Death with great Composure of Mind; and after the Signal, his Head was sever'd from his Body at one single Stroke; but the Executioner was so much affected that he shed Tears. The Earl died in the 42^d Year of his Age. When the Under Sheriff came to call Lord *Balmerin*, he ask'd, whether it was over with the Earl of *Kilmarneek*? and being told that it was, he desired to know how the Executioner perform'd his Office; and when he was inform'd, said it was well done. In addressing himself to the Company, he said, Gentlemen, I shall detain you no longer; and seemingly with an easy Chearfulness,

fainted his Friends, and hastened to the Scaffold, which he mounted with so willing an Air; that it greatly astonished the Spectators; As his Lordship lived in the Acts of Treason and Rebellion, so he died in the Aggravation of his Crime, having the Intolence to wear the same Regimentals to the Scaffold that he wore at the Battle of *Culloden*; no Action in his Deportment shewed the least Sign of Fear; he walked several Times round the Scaffold, bowed to the People, went to his Coffin, read the Inscription, and with a Nod, said, it is right. His Lordship putting on his Spectacles, and taking a Paper out of his Pocket, read it with an audable Voice, in which he mentioned his Majesty King *George*, as a Prince of the greatest Magnanimity and Mercy. Having delivered this Paper to the Sheriff, he then examined the Block; and calling for the Executioner, who appearing, and being about to ask his Lordship's Pardon, he said, *Friend you need not ask me Forgiveness, the Execution of your Duty is commendable.* Upon which his Lordship gave him three Guineas,

Guineas, saying, I never was rich, this is all the Money I have now; I wish it were more; and pulling off his Cloaths, which he likewise gave him, he put on a Flannel Waistcoat, and then taking his Plaid Cap out of his Pocket, put it on his Head, saying, he died a Scotchman; after throwing the Executioner the Signal for the Stroke, clapped him on the back, and encouraged him to do his Work like a Man; and then kneeling down to the Block, gave the Signal to unexpectedly, that the Executioner was in Confusion, and could not perform his Office under three Blows: His Lordship was in the 58th Year of his Age. The Execution being thus over, the Body was carried back to the Tower, and together with that of the Earl of *Kilmarnock*, deposited in St. Peter's Church, in the same Vault where that of the Marquis of *Tullibardine* lies.

On the 22d of the same Month three Rebel Officers, *Mac Donald*, *Nicholson*, and *Ogilby* were executed at *Kennington*.
 N n 3 Common

Common; and on the 23d the Commissioners at St. Margaret's Hill resumed their Sessions, and Bills were found against 32 Persons, as also against Lord Macclesfield, eldest Son to the Earl of Cromartie, and John Murray Esq; of Broughton the Pretender's Secretary, who were not brought up as being intended to experience his Majesty's Mercy. The greatest Part of these unfortunate People were found guilty; and that I may finish this Subject at once, I shall observe, that on Friday the 28th of November, Sir John Wedderburn, Bart. John Hamilton, Esq; James Bradshaw, Andrew Wood, and Alexander Leith, were Executed; Col. Farquharson and Thomas Watson being reprieved in the Morning, and James Lindsay just as he was going into the Sledge. This was the last Execution in the Neighbourhood of London, of such as were condemned by the King's Commissioners in Southwark.

As for the Rebels that were Prisoners in the North, they were tried partly at Carlisle, and partly at York, the Assizes being

being opened at the first-mentioned City on the 12th of August, before the Lord Chief Baron Parker, Mr Justice Burnet, Mr Justice Denning and Mr Baron Clark, and continued by proper Adjournments (that of the 9th of September being after they returned from York) to the 26th of the same Month, when the whole of their Business was finished there, and Ninety-one received Sentences of Death, Twenty-six were acquitted, and Twenty-nine discharged, no Bills being found against them. On Saturday the 18th of October were executed at Carlisle, Thomas Cappock a Clergyman, John Henderson, John McNaughton, James Brand, Daniel McDaniel of Kesh, Moidart, Daniel McDaniel of Taron Rusb, Francis Buchanans of Anaprior, Hugh Cameron and Edward Roper. And on Tuesday the 21st were executed at Brompton, near Carlisle, Peter Taylor, Michael Delaird, James Forbes, Rich. Morrison, Alexander Hutchinson, James Innis, Donald McDonald, Peter Lindsey, and Thomas Park. On Saturday, December the 15th, Sir Archibald Primrose,

rose. Bart. and Ten others were executed
at Carlisle.

The Proceedings at York before the
Lord Irwin, Lord Chief Baron Parker,
Sir Thomas Burnet, &c. began on the 2d
of October, and ended on the 7th, when
there were 70 Persons received Sentence
of Death. On the 1st of November fol-
lowing, the after-named Ten Persons
were executed there, viz. Capt. George
Hamilton, Edward Clavering, Donald
Fraser; Charles Gordon, Benjamin Ma-
son, James Mayne, William Cnally,
William Dempsey, Angus McDonald,
and James Sparks. They died like har-
dened Rebels; two of their Heads were
set up on Michlegate Bar, and Captain
Hamilton's sent in a Box to Carlisle.
On that Day Se'ennight, there were E-
leven more executed at the same Place;
and on the 15th, James Reed suffered
there by himself. These, with seven o-
ther Persons that were executed at Pen-
rith, were all the Rebels that died in
the North; many of Those that were
condemned

condemned having been pardoned, and the rest sent to the Plantations.

CHARLES RATCLIFFE, Esq; was the younger Brother of the unhappy Earl of *Derwentwater*, who suffered for the Rebellion in 1715: They were the Sons of Sir *Francis Ratcliffe*, by *Mary Tudor*, natural Daughter to King *Charles II.* by *Mary Davis*, descended from the ancient and noble Family of the *Ratcliffes*, Earls of *Suffex*. He was a Prisoner in *Newgate*, and under Sentence of Death, when his Brother suffered, and after receiving several Reprieves, made his Escape from thence when his Life was in no Danger. He went immediately to *France*, from thence to *Rome*, and afterwards returned to *Paris*, where he married the Widow of Lord *Newburn*, by whom he had a Son who embarked with his Father in Favour of the late Expedition, and were taken by his Majesty's Ship the *Sheerness*, already taken Notice of, and confined some Time a Prisoner with him in the Tower, from whence, on *Friday* the
21st

21st of *November*, he was brought under a strong Guard to the Court of *King's-Bench* in *Westminster-Hall*, to be arraigned on his Sentence in the Year 1716, when he elcaped out of *Newgate*. He pleaded that he was a Subject of *France*, in which Country he had resided, 30 Years and had his Commission; and that he was not *Charles Ratcliffe*, meaning that he was Earl of *Derwentwater*; then a Jury was impanelled to find him the identical Person. On *Saturday* the 22d, Mr. *Ratcliffe* being brought up to the Bar of the Court of *King's-Bench*, was again arraigned, but refused to hold up his Hand, or acknowledge any Jurisdiction but to the King of *France*, insisting on a Commission he had in his Pocket from the French King, and appealed to his *Sicilian Majesty's* Minister, who was present in Court; but on hearing his former Indictment and Conviction, which were read to him, he said, he was not *Charles Ratcliffe* therein named, but that he was the Earl of *Derwentwater*; and his Council informed the Court that this was the Plea he relied on; to which

Aver-

the Attorney General replied, with the Averment of his being the same *Charles Ratcliffe*, and thereupon Issue was joined. Then the Council for the Prisoner moved to put off his Trial upon his own Affidavit (to which he had subscribed the Count de *Derwentwater*) that two of his material Witnesses, naming them, were abroad, without whose Testimony he could not safely go to Trial: This Affidavit not proving satisfactory, because the Prisoner did not therein aver, that he was the Person formerly attainted; a Jury was impanelled, one of whom he challenged peremptorily, which the Court disallow'd; then the rest of the Jury were sworn, and after a clear Evidence of the Identity of the Person in Behalf of the Crown, the Prisoner producing none on his Part, the Jury withdrew about ten Minutes, and then brought in their Verdict, that he was the same *Charles Ratcliffe*, who was convicted of Treason in the Year 1716. Then the Attorney-General moved to have Execution awarded against the Prisoner on his former Judgment; to which the
Prisoner's

Prisoner's Council objected, rendering a
Plea of Pardon by Act of Parliament, in
Bar of Execution; but the Court said, as
he had already pleaded such a Plea as he
chose to rely on, and as that was found
against him, nothing more remained for
them to do at present, but to award Ex-
ecution; for which the proper Writ
were made out, and going to find a small
Booth, joining to the Scaffold, where he
was to stand, lined with Black, where he
was to stand. On Monday the 8th of December, all
Things were put in order for his Execu-
tion, though the Notice was so short that
the Carpenters were forced to work on
the Scaffold on Sunday, and all the fol-
lowing Night. In the Morning about
Ten o'Clock, the Block and a Cushion,
both covered with Black, were brought
up and fixed on the Stage, and soon af-
ter Mr. Ratcliffe's Coffin, covered with
black Velvet, with eight Handles,
which and the Nails were gilt with Gold,
but there was no Plate or Inscription up-
on it. At near Eleven, the Sheriffs, Mr.
Alderman Winterbottom, and Mr. Alder-
man Alsop, with their Officers, came to
see if the Scaffold was finish'd, and every
thing

Thing prepared for Mr *Ratcliffe's* Reception ; which being to their Satisfaction, they went to the Tower, and demanded the Body of Mr *Ratcliffe*, of General *Williamson*, Deputy-Governor ; upon being delivered, he was put into a Landau, and carried over the Wharf, at the End of which, he was put into a small Booth, joining to the Stairs of the Scaffold, lined with Black, where he spent about half an Hour in his Devotion ; and then, preceded by the Sheriffs, the Divine, and some Gentlemen his Friends, came to the Place of Execution.

When he came upon the Scaffold, he took Leave of his Friends with great Serenity and Calmness of Mind ; and having spoken a few Words to the Executioner, gave him a Purse of ten Guineas and putting on a Damask Cap, kneeled down to Prayers, which lasted about seven Minutes, all the Spectators on the Scaffold kneeling with him : Prayers being over, he pulled off his Cloaths, and put his Head on the Block, from whence he soon got up, and having spoke a

few Words, he kneeled down to it again and fixing his Head, in about two Minutes gave the Signal to the Executioner, who at three Blows struck it off, which was received in a Scarlet Cloth held for that Purpose. He was dressed in Scarlet faced with Black Velvet trimmed with Gold, a Gold-laced Waistcoat, and a white Feather in his Hat. He behaved with the greatest Fortitude and Coolness of Temper, and was no way shocked at the Approach of Death; on the contrary, he met it with the utmost Serenity and Composure. He was buried on the 11th at Night in St Giles's in the Fields, near the Remains of his Brother.

The last Person I have to mention upon this Occasion is *Simon Lord Frazer of Lovat*, who being taken in the Highlands, and sent up Prisoner to London, remained a long Time confined in the Tower; and as the Adventures of the former Part of his Life made his Lordship's Story pretty well known, there is no need that I should dwell long upon it here.

here. He was of an antient and honourable Family in *Scotland*, whose Genealogy I shall forbear to trace, my Book being swelled above my Proposals, so that I shall conclude for the present with the following Remarks on the latter Part of his Lordship's Life; which he spent in practising the Maxims of Government he had adopted from *France* and *Rome*, by distressing and impoverishing such as had any Business or Concern with him: Several Gentlemen, who were not immediately under his Subjection, he ruined, by hiring Russians to kill their Cattle, and firing their Corn-Fields and Barns on the slightest Quarrel or Misunderstanding between them: His restless and active Disposition conduced not a little to draw him into Snares; but a ready Invention and speedy Execution helped him out of them. In Business he was unjust and unconscionable, and declared his own Profit or Pleasure had always been the Rule of his Actions; and to them, he, on all Occasions, sacrificed every other Concern: This led him into Violence, Rapes, Cruelty, Treachery,

every base and infamous Practice ; being guilty of all Manner of enormous Crimes render'd him a fit Instrument for carrying on this Hell-bred Scheme of Rebellion, in which he was early engaged, and for which he was impeached by the House of Commons, who charged him with several Acts of Treason ; such as engaging in traiterous Designs in 1743 ; sending over Agents to manage his Schemes in Foreign Countries ; accepting Commissions, and a Patent creating him Duke *Frazer*, from the Pretender to his Majesty's Crown ; corresponding with his Son ; and raising his Clan, &c all which Lord *Lovat* positively deny'd by his Answer.

Monday March the 9th, 1747, Lord *Lovat* being brought from the Tower to take his Trial at the Bar at *Westminster-Hall*, where the Peers and Judge being seated in their Robes, a Commission for appointing, a Lord High Steward was presented to his Lordship, by the Clerk of the Crown, which was afterwards read ; during which Time all the Lords stood

stood uncover'd. The Managers of the Trial were, Sir *William Young* Bart. Mr Attorney General, Mr Solicitor General, Lord *Barrington*, Lord *Coke*, Mr *Legg*, Mr *Noel*, Sir *John Strange*, Sir *Richard Floyd*, Mr *York*, Mr *Granville* and Mr *Littleton*. The Council for Lord *Erskine* were, viz Mr *Charles Hamilton*, *Gordon*, Mr *Forbes*, Mr *Forster*, and Mr *Willmot*; Mr *George Ross*, Mr *Hugh Fraser*, and Mr *Goofry*, Solicitors. Then the Articles of Impeachment were read; and the Lord High Steward acquainted him with the nature of his Crime, to which he pleaded not guilty. The Substance of the Articles of Impeachment

1. That he traiterously Conspir'd against his Majesty, in 1743 and 1745.

2. That he Corresponded with the Pretender in 1743, and accepted a Commission under him of Lieutenant-General, and General of the Highlands, and of a Patent Creating him a Duke by the Stile and Title of Duke *Frazer*, &c. associated

sociated with the Traitors and Enemies to his Majesty's Government.

3. That he aided and assisted in raising Men and Money, and levying War against his Majesty.

4. That he caus'd a treasonable Letter to be wrote and sent to the Young Pretender, with offers of his Service, and that of his Son and Clan.

5. That he Excited others to rebel and carried treasonable Papers and Letters to be written and sent among his Acquaintance and Dependents, with Promises of Assistance.

6. That he sent his Eldest Son and Vassals to join the Rebels, and supplied them with Arms, Ammunition and Money.

7. That he held a Correspondence with several of the Rebels, viz. *Roy Stewart, Lochiel, the Camerons, John Murray, &c.* knowing them to be so.

Sir

Sir *William Young* spoke in defence of the Articles to each of the above Articles his Lordship absolutely denied, lamenting his Calamity, that after the strongest Proofs of his Attachments to the present Government, and the Zeal shewn against the Rebels in the former Rebellion in the Year 1715, he should have his Fidelity Question'd and be charged now he is worn out with old Age and Infirmities, with endeavouring to subvert that Government he had in the Vigour of his Life, exerted his utmost Power to support, and that they Confided in their Lordships Justice, that he would regard only plain Facts proved by credible and unexceptionable Witnesses.

Robert Frazer, a Tenant of his Lordships, was the first Witness examined, who Deposed, *That his Lordship had at sundry Times endeavoured to persuade him to take up Arms in Favour of the Pretender, and produced two Letters, Sign'd by his Lordship, which he wrote with fair Promises of promoting this Witness, if he would engage in the Rebellion.*

Rebellion. His Lordships Council desir'd to see the Letters which was handed to him, when he perceived that his Lordships Name was wrote on a Piece of Paper, and pasted on the Letter, which he deliver'd to the Court. '1. Wit-

ness, Archibald Frazer, another of his Lordships 'Who said that when the Pretender landed in Scotland, that his Lordship wrote several Times to him that he hop'd he would join the Pretenders Party; and in his last Letter, Declar'd, whatever Arrears were due at that Time to his Lordship, it should freely be forgiven him, if he would comply with his Lordships request: Then the Court Adjourned till next Morning.

Tuesday March 10th, the Court being sat as before, and his Lordship at the Bar, the Managers proceeded further on his Trial, 'When Secretary Murray was called as an Evidence in behalf of the Crown, when his Lordship's Council made an Objection against this Witness, as being a Person who stood Attainted by Act of Parliament; to which Objection it was

was answer'd, by one of the Council for the Crown, That by a Record in the King's Bench, the last Day of the last Term, it appeared he was not attainted having surrendered within the Time limited by the Act, to which the Prisoner reply, it was not to be Concluded by that Record, and insisted that his Surrender within the Limited Time should be proved: and as it was a Point in Law, a Debate arose, both among the Peers and Council, which lasted about two Hours, when the Lord High Steward acquainted the Court that Mr Murray was by the Opinion of their Lordships admitted an Evidence, then the Court broke up and adjourned till the next Morning.

Wednesday March the 11th, the Court being sat, Secretary Murray was called, who gave Evidence as follows, 'That he had been acquainted and had held a Correspondence with his Lordship for six Years past, which was the beginning of his Lordship and several others to raise a Rebellion against his Majesty, and he produced several Letters which came
from

from his Lordship; and directed to him. That he had been at several Meetings where Lord Lovat was present, and proved that his Lordship in his Hearing particularly in the Month of June 1743, was the sole Contriver of an Invasion, and laid the Plan before the whole Company, and promised a Sum of 4000 £. towards the Carrying it on; and that the Lord Lovat was present when another Plan of the present Rebellion was Copied off. Then the Letters which this Witness produc'd in Court, were handed to the Council on both Sides, when his Lordship was ask'd, if the Signing of these Letters was his Lordships Hand-writing or not, to which the Prisoner answer'd, that he could not deny but that it was very much like his Hand writing; but as the Name Lovat was wrote on a piece of Paper and pasted on the Letter, he was sure that some of his Enemies had taken his Name from his Letters and pasted them on those produc'd; two other Witnesses were Examin'd who prov'd the Fact and then the Court Adjourn'd till the Friday following.

Friday

Friday *March* 13th, The Lords being seated in their Robes and the Prisoner brought to the Bar, the next Evidence was *Hugh Frizer*, who had been Secretary to his Lordship, then he produced a Letter directed to one of his Tenants, Sign'd, LOVAT, which he in his Evidence proved to be his Lordships own Signing. The Substance of that Letter was as follows.

S I R,

‘ I Am not a little surpriz’d to find
 ‘ you so Timorous in joining a Party
 ‘ which at one Time will make you as
 ‘ happy as you can wish ; don’t be no
 ‘ longer scrupulous, but bring your Vassals
 ‘ along with you to morrow, and
 ‘ you shall have all the Encouragement
 ‘ you can desire from your sincere Friend,

Glasgow,

LOVAT.

Nov. 7, 1745.

Robert Cameron deposed, that his Lordship had offered him the Sum of 50 l. if he would join the Pretender, and bring his Servants with him. The fol-

following Evidences for the Crown deposed to the same Effect, viz *James Murray, John Fraser, Peter Kinloch, Samuel Kinloch, Simon Cameron, Hector Fraser, William Fraser, Samuel Campbell, Thomas Macdonald*; these Witnesses being Examined which ended on the Crown Side. Sir *John Strange*, summed up the Evidence for the King, and concluded with the following Speech.

My Lords,

AS you have heard the Evidences in behalf of his Majesty against the Prisoner at the Bar, I am thoroughly convinced that you find them sufficiently Clear, Plain and Evident, to find him guilty of High Treason; but as the laws of this Kingdom give such indulgence to a Prisoner, after he is plainly proved guilty of his Crime, to hear what the Prisoner has to say in his Defence; his Lordship now may proceed with your Law on his own Side, which, I fear will be of little or no Service to him, then Lord Lovat desired four or five Days to prepare for his Defence, but the Peers adjourned

adjourn'd to their House and after a short debate, they ordered his Lordship to be brought on the *Wednesday* following.

Wednesday March the 18th, between Eleven and Twelve o'Clock, the Lord *Lovat* was brought from the Tower, with the Ax carried before him, and being let to the Bar, he was asked to make his defence, his Lordship acquainted the Court that he had no Witnesses, but delivered his defence in Writing, which was to desire longer Time, but that was over-rul'd, and he was ordered to be brought again the next Day to shew cause why Judgment should not be awarded against him. To which he answer'd, that he thought the hardships and Misfortunes he had laboured under by his Enemies, was unsupportable: and that it was well known by several of the Peers in Court, of the strong Zeal shewn against the Rebels in the Year 1715, and that he thought it hard to have his Fidelity question'd, and be charged in the Winter of Age, being worn out with

Infirmities, with the Crime of High Treason against a Prince whom he had in the Vigour of his Life executed his utmost Endeavour to support the Government of his Royal Father: and hoped that their Lordships would be favourable in their report to his Majesty, and that his Gray Hairs might draw Compassion from his Breast.

When the Proclamation for silence was made when the Lord High Steward, calling the Peers by their Names one by one, beginning at the youngest Barron, ask'd him, whither Simon Lord *Lovat* was guilty of the High Treason, of which he stood charged or not guilty, the Barron standing up uncover'd, put his Right Hand on his left Breast, and said guilty upon my Honour, and all the rest of the Peers declar'd the Prisoner guilty of High Treason in the same Manner.

Thursday his Lordship being brought again to the Bar, the Lord High Steward Pronounced Judgment, which the Law

Law required, and which that High Court rewarded in the usual Form.

Then Lord *Loval* said, as he had given Proof of his Loyalty to the late and present King, he hoped his Lordship would recommend him to his Majesty's Mercy. Then he turned to the Commons, said he hop'd as they were stout, they should be merciful; and going from the Bar, said (God blest you all), I wish you an Everlasting farewell; for we shall never meet again in this Place.

Then the Prisoner was taken from the Bar, and the Lord High Steward standing up, he informed the Lords, that all the Business was Completed, which by his Commission he was to execute, and then his Grace took the White Rod in both his Hands, and broke it in two Pieces, and declared his Commission was at an End. The Day of his Execution is fixed on Thursday 1e'ennight on Tower Hill.

P p 2 Thursday

Thursday April 12d, the Sheriff of
London and Middlesex, received a war-
 rant in a Letter, from the Duke of *New-*
castle, for the Execution of Lord *Levat*
 on Thursday next, intimating that it
 was expected they would expose the
 Head at the four Corners of the Scaffold,
 as usual: the Sheriffs returned answer to
 his Grace, that as it had not lately been
 practis'd, they desir'd it might be inser-
 ted in the body of the Warrant: Lord
Levat gave directions for the Interment
 of his Corpse in *Scotland*; his Lordship
 is attended by a *Roman Catholick Priest*
 but is said to be of the persuasion of a
 Sett of People in *France* called *Jansenists*
 who deny the intallibility of the (Pope)
 his Lordship likewise desir'd, that Mr
Baker a *Romish Priest* belonging to the
 King of *Sardinia's*, Ambassador, might
 attend him and be in private till his
 Execution, which was granted. Orders
 were issued for 1200 Soldiers Horse and
 Foot, to March at three in the Morn-
 ing to *Tower Hill*, to attend the Exe-
 cution; his Lordship Petition'd his Ma-
 jesty, that he may be executed after the
 usual

Manner of the Scots Nobility, and by
an Engine, call'd a Maiden which falls
with great Velocity, and at one blow,
Sever the Head from the Body.

Thursday April 9th, Between Twelve
and One o'Clock, Simon Lord Lovat
was beheaded on Tower-Hill, the Execu-
tioner performed his Office at one blow.
About an Hour before the Execution,
the great Scaffold next the Barron
Tower-Hill, being over loaded with
Spectators, broke down, by which about
Eighteen Persons were killed, and many
more hurt, who died afterwards; there
were 400 People on the Scaffold, so that
as he had caused much Destruction in his
Life, the like Fate follow'd him to the
Day of his Death.

Monday April 17th, Lord Lovat
Corse was brought from the House of
Mr Stephenson's in the Strand, accom-
panied by one Coach, and interred in
the Tower.

Thus I have brought my History down from the first Contrivance of the Rebellion Abroad, to the Death of the last Person who suffer'd for it, without Partiality, and with all the Clearness, Candour and Exactness in my Power, as well from the best Informations I could procure, as my own Observations; and I may venture to say, that no Man in *Britain*, in a private Station, had so great a Share in the Fatigue.

I was likewise a Volunteer in 1715, although but 15 Years of Age, and rode in one of the King's Troops; so that I have been concerned in driving out both the Popish Pretender and his Son; and now conclude with a hearty Wish, that nothing of the like kind may happen for the future; and that the *British* Nation in General may be truly sensible and thankful, for the Blessings God has given them in the auspicious House of *Hanover*, under whose Succession may they live in the quiet Possession of their
Laws

Laws, Liberties and Properties, till Time
shall be no more.

FINIS



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arch
ations

* † * The Reader is desir'd to excuse
any Errors that have escap'd the Cor-
rector, or Press; the Author's principal
Aim throughout the Whole, being to
set forth Matters of Fact, tho' not flou-
rish'd with that Illustration and Embel-
lishment of Stile as might be expected
from a more able Pen. 4 JY 59
